



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

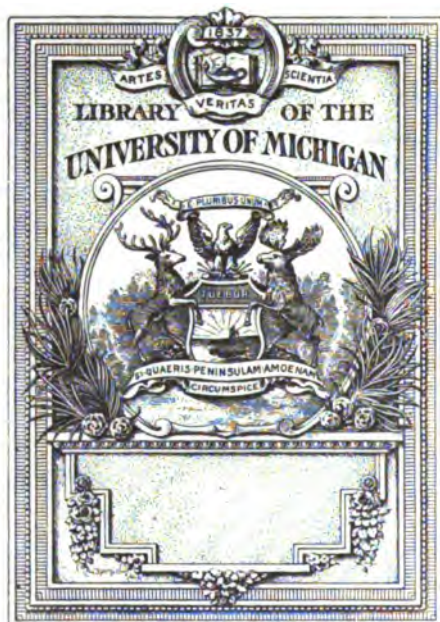
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

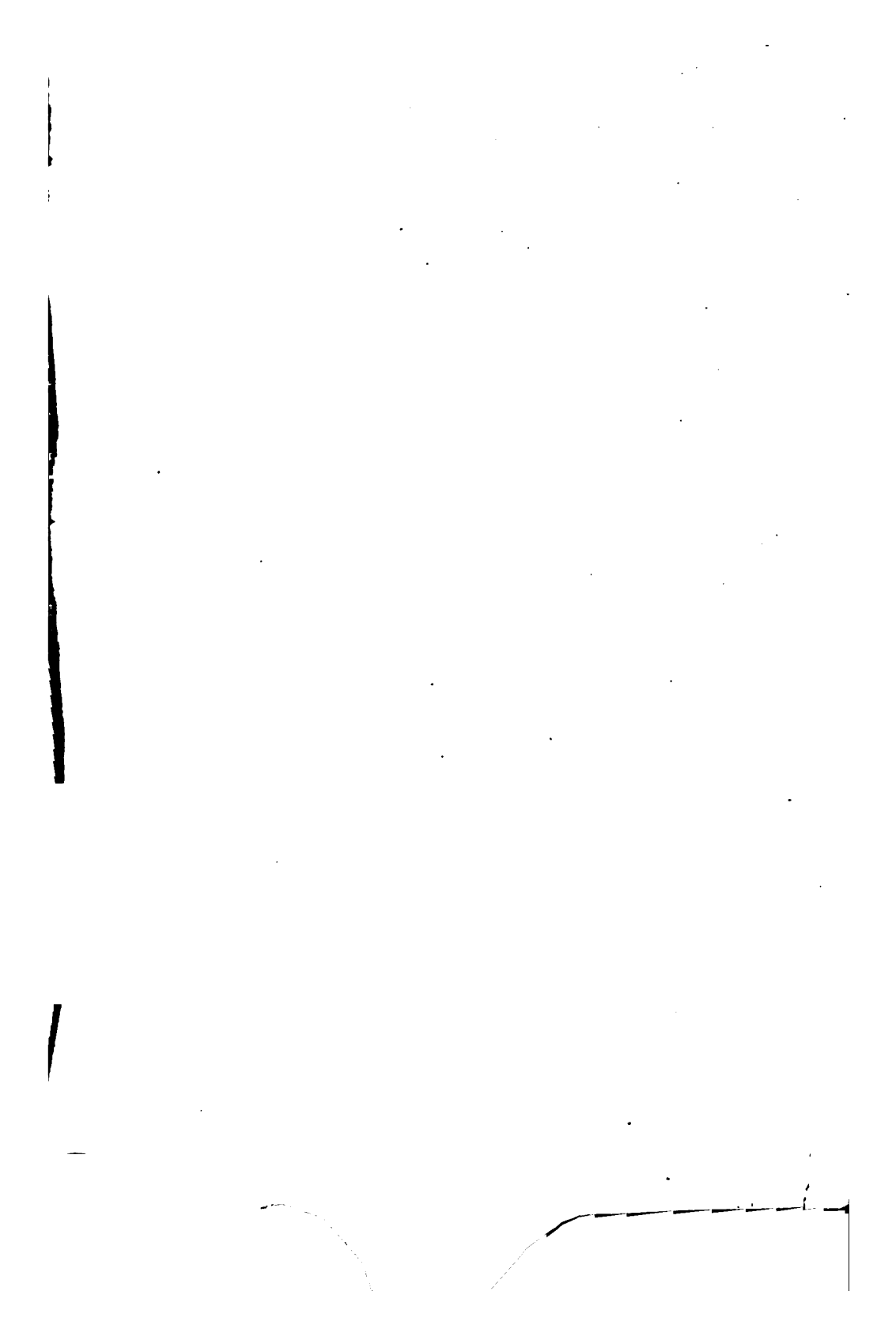
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



BS  
410  
E90



THE EXPOSITOR.

VOL. VII.

## List of Contributors to Volume VII.

- REV. PROFESSOR B. W. BACON, D.D., YALE UNIVERSITY.  
REV. W. E. BARNES, D.D., CAMBRIDGE.  
REV. PROFESSOR J. A. BEET, D.D.  
REV. PROFESSOR W. H. BENNETT, M.A.  
REV. PROFESSOR J. H. BERNARD, D.D., DUBLIN.  
REV. PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D.  
REV. ARTHUR CARR, M.A.  
RIGHT REV. G. A. CHADWICK, D.D., LORD BISHOP OF  
DERRY AND RAPHOE.  
REV. PROFESSOR T. K. CHEYNE, D.D., OXFORD.  
LATE REV. R. W. DALE, D.D., LL.D.  
SIR J. W. DAWSON, C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S.  
VEN. ARCHDEACON DIGGLE, M.A., CARLISLE.  
REV. PROFESSOR MARCUS DODS, D.D.  
REV. PROFESSOR DRIVER, D.D., OXFORD.  
LATE REV. CANON T. S. EVANS, M.A., DURHAM.  
G. BUCHANAN GRAY, M.A.  
REV. M. KAUFMANN, M.A.  
REV. PROFESSOR E. KÖNIG, D.D., ROSTOCK.  
AGNES S. LEWIS, CAMBRIDGE.  
PROFESSOR W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D.  
REV. F. RENDALL, M.A.  
REV. PROFESSOR JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., GLASGOW.  
REV. PROFESSOR J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON, D.D., CAMBRIDGE.  
REV. JOHN WATSON, D.D.  
REV. N. J. D. WHITE, B.D., DUBLIN.  
REV. PROFESSOR THEODOR ZAHN, D. LIT. CANTAB., ERLANGEN.

THE  
EXPOSITOR.

EDITED BY THE REV.  
W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., LL.D.

*FIFTH SERIES.*

Volume VII.

London :  
HODDER AND STOUGHTON,  
27, PATERNOSTER ROW.

---

MDCCCXCVIII.

BUTLER & TANNER,  
THE SELWOOD PRINTING WORKS,  
FROME, AND LONDON.

## THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ACTS.

RECENTLY a friend, in whose judgment I place great confidence, remarked in a letter to me that Dr. McGiffert's book on the *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age* contained the most powerful statement known to him of the view that the *Acts of the Apostles* could not have been written by Luke, the friend and pupil of St. Paul; and he urged that I should state clearly and precisely the attitude which I hold towards the argument so ably stated by the distinguished American Professor. The very fact that in several important points, such as the Galatian question, Dr. McGiffert has come to the same opinion as I hold, makes the difference between us as regards authorship all the more marked; and, as the Editor also asks me to write a review of this important book, it seems advisable to state why I remain unconvinced by its arguments against the Lukan authorship. It is rather confusing that Luke is spoken of as "the author" in many pages of Dr. McGiffert's book; but this is merely done for brevity, and the Professor is most clear and emphatic in denying the Lukan authorship.

The judgment which has been quoted in my opening sentence may be taken as a proof that the book is characterized by deep study and knowledge, long deliberation, and remarkable dialectical skill.<sup>1</sup> I do not, however, intend

<sup>1</sup> I feel bound, however, to refer to the harsh style of the English; the sentences are often more worthy of a German than an American, and the words used are sometimes of doubtful existence, e.g. "impartation" (p. 19) is hardly an English word. It must be confessed that Lloyd's *Encyclopædic Dictionary* mentions it, but marks it with an asterisk as obsolete.

to write a review of the book as a whole; but content myself with a brief statement of the strong qualities shown in it. I should mention, as an example of the book at its best, the defence of the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Colossians, which is an admirably concise and powerful piece of reasoning. And there occur many other similar passages, some of which critics may rank higher than the one which I have selected. The same qualities appear everywhere throughout the book. It will, however, be better to confine myself to one subject—the authorship of the Acts of the Apostles (with which of course goes the Third Gospel).

Dr. McGiffert goes over the book of *Acts* paragraph by paragraph, dissecting every statement; and with remorseless logic piles up argument upon argument. The cumulative effect of these is to show such a series of erroneous statements in the book as are absolutely inconsistent with the idea that the writer could have been an intimate friend of Paul and of other actors, or himself an actor, in the events described. The book of Acts is pronounced to be a second-hand work throughout: and the proper and only profitable method of historical study and criticism in reference to it is found to be an analysis of its sources.

On any theory as to the authorship of *Acts* and the Third Gospel, the question of sources is one of great importance. The author is almost universally admitted to be a Greek, a stranger to Palestine (which he knew only from a visit), probably born after many of the events which he records had occurred; and he expressly states that many written accounts of the period treated in his First Book (*i.e.* the Third Gospel) were known to him. The question as to his sources is of prime consequence; and we all admit that some of his sources were written. But I have been concerned to maintain that great part of *Acts* is not dependent on written sources, but is partly

/

gathered from the mouths and from the oral accounts of actors (especially Paul), and partly written down from personal knowledge (in which case the author uses the first personal form of narrative). The author's view as a whole throughout the book is, as I maintain, Paul's view; and in great part of it we must trace the hand of a pupil of Paul's, accustomed to hear Paul's opinion and to be largely, almost entirely, guided by it. But, in certain cases, I think that statements resting on other authority are admitted: in ch. i. and ii. traces of popular traditions are visible, in ch. xii. 12 it is distinctly given the reader to understand that John Mark was the authority: the comparison of viii. 40 with xxi. 8, 10 gives an equally distinct hint that Philip was the authority for ch. viii. In the Ephesian narrative, ch. xix., I recognise probably a statement of popular Asian belief in verses 11-19, and in verses 15-7 a narrative of non-Pauline tone, intended by an admirer of Paul to bring out that Apollos was indebted to Paul's teaching (conveyed through Aquila and Priscilla) for a great advance in his spiritual knowledge and power: the author was fully aware of Apollos's gifts and grace, but he was clearly desirous that it should be known that these were acquired only after Apollos had come in contact with Pauline influence. I cannot recognise any hint conveyed by the author as to the source of his narrative about Peter; but probably a better knowledge of the author's life and circumstances would reveal some hint as plain as that in xii. 12, or that which lies in the comparison of viii. 40 and xxi. 8, 10.

These may serve as examples to show how it would be possible to draw out a detailed argument that the author of *Acts*, while sharing the general carelessness of ancient historians as to stating precisely their sources of information, does nevertheless suggest intentionally to the reader in various cases the idea that definite persons were the

authorities for certain statements. Further, the author's style marks the difference between those parts where he had been a witness and those where he was dependent on the reports of others. Studied according to the canons of criticism which govern the study of the ordinary classical authors, *Acts* must be recognised as a work in which the expression is perfectly clear and natural in the person to whose pen it is attributed by tradition, and is inexplicable and unintelligible in any other person. Further, the tradition makes clear the genesis of much of the book, and enables the reader to follow back most of the statements to their exact source. In the case of any ordinary classical author, this line of reasoning would be treated as conclusive, and the inference would never have been doubted. The literary history of the book in its growth stands before us clear, simple, self-consistent, and harmonious with the facts known from other sources,<sup>1</sup> provided one does not twist it, or squeeze it, or thrust into it such absurdities as the North-Galatian theory (pardonable and hardly avoidable when Phrygia and Galatia were unknown lands, but now persisting only through the strength of prejudice).

From the literary point of view, the proper object of study is the author, his attitude towards his sources, and his method of using them; and I believe that that method of study is the most profitable as regards *Acts*, as is recognised in the case of every other book. But the "Source-Theory," as one may term it, turns the study of that book into a mere analysis of Sources; it proceeds as if the author's method and personality had no significance except as a cause of error, and makes it a fundamental principle that the one and only important

<sup>1</sup> That difficulties remain to be elucidated and obscurities to be illuminated, I have always declared; but that is universal in classical literature, and the discovery of new documents, while solving many old questions, adds continually to the number of difficult points in all departments of ancient scholarship.

question in every case is whether the author had a good or a bad, an early or a later, Source for every statement.

Dr. McGiffert has not convinced me: in other words, I think his clever argumentation is sophistical. In examining it, I should like as much as possible to concentrate attention on the impersonal aspect as a problem in history; and, to avoid obtruding the personal reference on the reader, it will be better to speak as far as possible of "the Source-Theory," meaning always the special form set forth in the work under review. Dr. McGiffert and I are desirous of reaching the truth, starting from different sides.

A true critical instinct makes Dr. McGiffert recoil from the extremest form of the "Source-Theory." The fundamental difference between the Source-Theory and the literary method of study is that, wherever any characteristic is observed in the book, the former attributes it to the "Source," while the latter sees in it an example of the author's method and style in using his sources. Take, for example, the transition from the name Saul to the name Paul during the interview with Sergius Paulus (*Acts* xiii. 4 ff.). Dr. McGiffert rightly says, on page 176, that in this case "the author, with the instinct of a true historian, evidently felt the significance" of the interview. On the other hand, many scholars see there only the transition from a "Source," in which the Apostle was called by the name Saul, to another "Source," in which he was called Paul. Now what authority have we for the confidence (which Dr. McGiffert rightly entertains) that the author of *Acts* "felt the significance" of the situation? What reason is there for rejecting the theory that the peculiar constitution of the text at this point springs simply from the "Sources"? Our only ground is the literary instinct which recognises with absolute and unfaltering force that here the author is not dominated by his sources, but

dominates them and moulds them into a powerful narrative, showing the hand of a master, not of a mere editor.

On the other hand, we find the statement on page 257, "There are certain features in his report of Paul's stay in Athens which can be explained only on the supposition that he had in his hand an older document which he followed in the main quite closely." But we search in vain for any reasoning to prove that the literary skill which was recognised in the Paphian episode was inadequate to frame the Athenian narrative out of information which the author received and moulded to his own purposes. It is simply assumed that, because the narrative is at this point generally trustworthy, therefore it uses "an older document." The same assumption is made time after time in the course of the keen scrutiny to which the narrative of *Acts* is subjected. In this scrutiny, as a rule, the "Source-Theory" starts by begging the whole question; and the admission which has just been quoted from page 176 is a temporary divergence from the regular method.

It is a rule of criticism that when a theory of authorship is propounded, the supposed author must be a conceivable and natural personality. It is not admissible to make the imagined author in one place of one character, and in another to attribute to him different qualities. But this compiler of *Acts* is never presented to us as a self-consistent and possible and imaginable character. Inconsistent and contradictory qualities are assigned to him. "He was keenly alive to the dramatic possibilities of the position in which the Apostle found himself placed" at Athens (p. 257); but he sternly resisted the temptation to work up those possibilities in a way contrary to the real facts recorded in his sources. Now, only a person endued with considerable literary feeling and historical sympathy is able to be "keenly alive to the dramatic possibilities" of a situation in past time and in a strange country; and only a person who

has a strong sense of veracity will resist the temptation to touch up the situation whose possibilities he is so keenly alive to, and will rigorously deny himself the slightest embellishing touch which does not stand in the record. Yet this person did not shrink from the most shameless and stupid mendacity in other cases: he found in two "Sources" accounts of a visit of Paul to Jerusalem, and he thought they described two separate visits, and invented a whole chapter of false history in order to work in the second visit which his stupidity had conjured up<sup>1</sup>: he invented a Decree (or rather made up a Decree from real materials which belonged to another time and situation), and placed this Decree in the mouth of the Apostles assembled at Jerusalem (xv. 22-29): he invented two sentences (xix. 28, 29), which he put in Paul's mouth in the same incident where otherwise he showed such self-denial and rigorous adherence to truth and the record; and so on in endless succession. How reconcile these contradictions? Who is this author, who shows such literary feeling, such scrupulous veracity, such helplessness in literary expression, such unscrupulous disregard to truth? Who is it that sometimes transfers to his pages fragments of a "Source" more awkwardly than the feeblest Byzantine compiler, for he forgets to change a first person to a third, at another time selects and re-models till he has constructed a narrative which shows "the instinct of a true historian," "keenly alive to the dramatic possibilities of the situation"?

The charge is frequently brought against the author of *Acts* that he gives a false picture of Paul's sphere of work in the cities of Asia, Galatia, Macedonia, and Achaia, describing Paul's work as conducted largely among the Jews, whereas Paul's own words show that it was mainly among the Gentiles. This is not taken as a proof of mendacity: it is simply the result of ignorance; and if the author had

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 11 f., on this point, and p. 10 on the Decree.

really been a friend of Paul, he would have known better. It is indisputable that in *Acts* the reader's attention is always pointedly drawn to Paul's work among the Jews. Dr. McGiffert draws from this the inference that the author knew no better. Mr. Baring-Gould (as we saw in the *EXPOSITOR*, July, p. 52) draws the inference that Paul misstated or misjudged the facts, when he represents himself as the Apostle of the Gentiles. To me it seems that Luke, while devoting most space to the account of Paul's work among the Jewish part of his audiences, makes it clear that the Gentiles were vastly more numerous than the Jews in the Churches of Galatia, Thessalonica,<sup>1</sup> Asia, etc. I find no such contradiction between Paul and *Acts* as Dr. McGiffert does. Paul speaks more of the Gentiles and to the Gentiles, because they were the most numerous, but usually makes it quite clear that there were Jews also in the Church which he is addressing. Luke speaks at greater length of the appeal to the Jews, because he lived through the struggle against the Jews, and sympathized with Paul under the attacks made against him as unfriendly to his own nation, and was keenly desirous to prove that Paul always gave full opportunity and welcome to the Jews in every city. Such a desire is very natural in a personal friend of Paul; but we see no reason why a stranger, writing after the conflict was long past, should be so eager to defend Paul against dead enemies and a buried enmity and a people which had ceased in A.D. 70 to be a nation.

In this connexion, take one example. In *Acts*, Paul is represented at Corinth as going to the Jews, and only after their refusal, turning to the Gentiles, and doing so at first by means of the half-way "house of a certain proselyte, Titus Justus."<sup>2</sup> But, "in Paul's own epistles there is no

<sup>1</sup> The question of reading comes in here: *St. Paul the Traveller*, p 235 f.

<sup>2</sup> It is unfortunate that the bare term "proselyte" is sometimes inaccurately used in the book under review to designate a "God-fearing" Gentile. In a

hint of any such procedure"; and his statement "is hardly calculated to confirm Luke's account" (p. 268). And yet, "it must be recognised that there are some striking points of contact" between Luke's and Paul's accounts of Corinthian affairs (p. 269). Crispus is common to both accounts; and though Paul does not mention that his Crispus was a Jew, "there is no reason to doubt that he is the man whose conversion Luke reports." Obviously Paul is not concerned to mention the nationality of the persons whom he names among the Corinthians—he is entirely absorbed in a different purpose; and it is mere hypercritical special pleading to argue that Luke is inaccurate, because Paul gives no account of the stages by which his mission in Corinth developed. If he converted a ruler of the Synagogue (and Paul does not himself think it necessary to mention that Crispus was so), it is pretty clear that he must have addressed himself directly to the Jews. He would never convert a Jew, if he addressed only Gentiles.

But I cannot stop to show, step by step, how unfair and sophistical the "Source-Theory" is: to do so would need a book. I can only ask the "Source-Theorists" what points they lay most stress on, and examine these.

Beyond a doubt, the one serious reason which must weigh heavily with every reasoning man, and make him doubt whether the author of *Acts* could have been an intimate friend and companion of Paul, is the topic discussed on pp. 170–172, 194–201, 208–217. Paul, in his letter to the Galatians, speaking with the strongest emphasis, and with a solemn adjuration that he is speaking the absolute truth—"touching the things which I write unto you, behold,

question so delicate and so vexed, it is desirable to use the technical term very strictly. In my *St. Paul*, p. 43, I used "proselyte" in the same loose way, to indicate a "God-fearing" person, because I had not yet defined the terms, and added the definition in the next paragraph. But friendly critics pointed out that it was best to avoid absolutely this loose use of "proselyte." Titus Justus (rather Titus Justus) was not a "proselyte."

before God, that I lie not"—declares that in his first two visits to Jerusalem after his conversion, he learned nothing from the older Apostles, that he carried no message from them to his own Churches, that they imparted nothing to him, but merely approved of his schemes and ratified his mission.<sup>1</sup> Now the second visit is by most scholars identified with the visit described in *Acts* xv. But, in that visit, so far from the Apostles imparting nothing to Paul, as he declares, they, according to *Acts*, were the supreme authority to whom he referred a question for decision; they imparted to him a Decree on this question. He carried this Decree to his Churches, and "delivered them the Decree for to keep, which had been ordained of the Apostles and Elders that were at Jerusalem" (*Acts* xvi. 4). Rightly and honestly, Dr. McGiffert is revolted by this contradiction between Paul and *Acts*: rightly and honestly, he refuses to shut his eyes to it, or to whittle it away and minimize it, and delude himself into the idea that he thereby gets rid of it: the clear contradiction exists in a most vital and solemn matter. If *Acts* is right, and if the common theory is to be followed, Paul was throwing dust in the eyes of the Galatians; therefore, the inference is drawn that *Acts* is wrong, and that the supposed Decree was never issued by the Council, or carried by Paul to his Churches. The "Decree" is a mere fabrication by the compiler of *Acts*; or, rather, "it is impossible to suppose so peculiar a document an invention of the author of *Acts*," and, therefore, "some historic basis for it must be assumed." The basis is found by supposing that it was probably made up out of James's speech (*Acts* xv. 13-21), or that it was promulgated

<sup>1</sup> Dr. McGiffert puts this clearly and well, p. 211: "It is a point of the utmost significance that Paul distinctly asserts that those who were of repute in the Church of Jerusalem imparted nothing to him (*Gal.* ii. 6) . . . in other words, he was left entirely free by them to preach to the Gentiles exactly as he had been preaching."

at some other time, and wrongly attributed by the author to this Council (p. 212 f.).

Another difficulty exists in this connexion, and the "Source-Theory" is again invoked to solve it. "It is clear that Paul intended the Galatians to understand that during the fourteen years<sup>1</sup> that succeeded his conversion, he had been in Jerusalem only twice." But in *Acts* three visits are mentioned, according to the ordinary view; and Dr. McGiffert rightly refuses to accept the sophistical excuse that the middle visit was only a little one, or an unimportant one, and might therefore be omitted by Paul, even though he takes his oath to the Galatians that he is telling them the absolute truth. Once more the explanation is found in an error of the author of *Acts*. He found in two "Sources" two different accounts of the same visit, viz., a visit paid in 48 A.D., in which Paul and Barnabas carried to Jerusalem the money collected by the Antiochian Church (*Acts* xi. 29), and at the same time propounded the difficulty as to Gentile Christians for solution by the Apostles and Elders (*Acts* xv.). These accounts were so different that the author mistook them for accounts of two separate visits, for one Source "might well be interested to record only the generous act of the Antiochian Church, while another might see in the settlement of the legitimacy of Gentile Christianity the only matter worthy of mention." Inasmuch as the Gentile question fell immediately after the first missionary journey, the compiler made the unhappy guess that the money had been carried to Jerusalem before that journey, and thus falsely evolved an intermediate unhistorical visit of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem.

If this view hits the truth, then assuredly *Acts* was not written by Luke, the friend of Paul. It is impossible that a companion of Paul in many journeys and for many years should be so ignorant of a most important epoch in Paul's

<sup>1</sup> Or, as many hold (not I), seventeen years.

life as this theory makes out. But there are difficulties besetting the theory. We may well grant that the author of *Acts* may have "found two independent accounts of the same journey in his sources." But these accounts would not be divorced from all surroundings; each of them would necessarily relate the events before and after, and would make the succession of events moderately clear, for these sources were historical narratives traversing part of the same ground that *Acts* treats of. I can find no fair parallel in literary history for a supposition so violent. One is used to such maltreatment of history among ignorant students, who are experimenting to discover what is the minimum of knowledge which will be accepted for a "pass" by an examiner. But except among the examination papers of passmen, I have seen nothing to parallel the audacious and shameless ignorance which is thus attributed to the compiler—an ignorance which might almost suggest the theory that *Acts* is the rejected examination paper in history of some lazy candidate for matriculation in an ancient University. The compiler is supposed to have written under Domitian, between 81 and 96, at a time when one Christian had been martyred in Pergamos and none in Smyrna,<sup>1</sup> when many pupils and friends and associates of Paul and the Apostles were still living, when the real facts must have been known to great numbers of persons, and when any doubt could have been cleared up with the utmost ease. We are asked to believe either that the compiler was so extraordinarily stupid as to imagine that the accounts of one event given in two historical narratives were accounts of two different events, feeling

<sup>1</sup> On the date see page 437 f.; on the view that so few martyrs suffered in Asia under Domitian, see page 635 (where it is apparently implied that there had been no serious persecution in any of the seven Churches of Asia, except the martyrdom of Antipas: that is as much as to say there had been no persecution in Asia, which implies that practically there was no serious persecution under Domitian beyond Rome).

no doubt, and boldly lifting one account out of its place and thrusting it in at a point several years earlier, or that he was so careless and lazy that he would not test by a very easy process the doubts which did suggest themselves to him.

While the form which is given to the "Source-Theory" in this work is in many respects most ingenious and able, the early date assigned to the compilation involves the Theory in many difficulties, which it was free from on the old supposition of second century authorship. But that supposition in its turn is involved in difficulties which have led Dr. McGiffert to abandon it.

My own theory of the visits to Jerusalem—that the second visit of *Acts* is the second visit as described by Paul in *Galatians* ii. 1 ff., and that the third visit of *Acts* lies outside of Paul's argument (because he is merely discussing what was his original message to the Galatians, whether of God or from the Apostles, whereas the third visit did not occur till after the Galatians were converted)—is briefly dismissed as impossible on page 172 *note*. The reason is noteworthy: "The discussion recorded in *Acts* xv. can have taken place only on the occasion which Paul describes in *Gal.* ii. 1 sq.," and neither earlier nor later. We ask how and where Dr. McGiffert acquires the knowledge of that obscure period which enables him to pronounce so absolutely that, on a subject which (unless *Acts* is hopelessly wrong) was debated for years with much bitterness, the particular discussion mentioned in *Acts* xv. can have occurred only in A.D. 48 and at no other time. His authority is *Acts* itself, an authority which he discredits at almost every point to some greater or less degree; yet from this poor authority he can gather absolute certainty as to the exact period when alone one discussion can have occurred. The fact is that unless *Acts* is accepted as a good authority, we must resign ourselves to be ignorant

about the Apostolic period, and must cease to make any dogmatic statements as to what is possible or impossible.

Every reader must be struck with the enormous part that is played in the discussion of the *Acts of the Apostles* by the argument from the author's silence. Wherever we learn from any other source of any incident or detail, however slight it may be, which is not recorded in *Acts*, the inference is almost always drawn that the author was ignorant of it, or rather that he had an inadequate or inaccurate "Source." For example, in the Athenian narrative "his account betrays a lack of familiarity with some of the events that transpired at this period" (p. 257); and yet the author here "followed in the main quite closely" a document, which is stated in the following pages to be old and trustworthy. Moreover, the author "was keenly alive to the dramatic possibilities of the position in which the Apostle found himself placed"; which implies a high degree of historical insight and sympathy. Here, then, we have a case in which an author, who possessed great literary and historical power, and had access to a good and early authority of Athenian origin, is pronounced ignorant of certain *minutiae* of the going and coming of Timothy, because he does not enumerate them. Surely the supposition should here be entertained that he thought these *minutiae* too unimportant to deserve enumeration in a highly compressed history of the developing force of Christianity within the Roman Empire.

Many critics seem to have failed utterly to realize that the author of *Acts* is not a biographer but a historian, that he selects the points which are important in his conception of the developing Church, and stands quite apart from little details regarding the precise number of times that Timothy went back and forward between Achaia and Macedonia. It is enough that the author says nothing that is contradictory of what Paul mentions in writing to the Thessalo-

nians (as is frankly conceded on p. 257), beyond that it is mere pedantic niggling to insist that, if the author had known how many times Timothy went to and fro, he must have told it.

It is impossible in a necessarily short paper to touch on every point raised as regards *Acts*. But I have taken those which seemed most characteristic. Let me add one only. On p. 280 f. the Ephesian residence is discussed. From the word used by Paul himself, "I fought-with-beasts at Ephesus" (*ἐθνηρώμαχησα*, 1 Cor. xv. 32), it is inferred that the Apostle had been condemned to death, exposed to wild beasts in the amphitheatre, and escaped in some way from death. This penalty could only be inflicted by the supreme official of the province, the Proconsul; and therefore it is maintained that "an uproar resulted, and he was arrested and condemned to death as the cause of it"; the Proconsul had the power, "when the contest in the arena did not result fatally, to set him free." As Dr. McGiffert rather humorously observes, "doubtless he was convinced that Paul would avoid creating any more disturbances."

When Paul recounts to the Corinthians his sufferings, 2 Cor. xi. 23 f., he did not think it worth while to mention that most remarkable of all escapes and dangers, though he mentions many far less striking and impressive, because he had already mentioned it in the first Epistle, and it "may have seemed unnecessary to do so in the second." Why not apply the "Source-Theory" here? The two Epistles use different Sources!

I need not discuss such a shadowy and hypothetical substitute for the realistic and impressive narrative of *Acts*.<sup>1</sup> I venture to doubt if any two scholars in the whole of Europe will accept this interpretation of the fundamental word "fought-with-beasts." The sketch of

<sup>1</sup> Dr. McGiffert himself says about part of it, "The general trustworthiness of Luke's account cannot be questioned. The occurrence is too true to life and is related in too vivid a way to permit a doubt as to its historic reality" (p. 282).

the supposed trial and condemnation and fight in the amphitheatre and pardon is too false to Roman habits of administration, and to the surroundings of Epheso-Roman society, to have any claim to be taken seriously. It is simply a blot upon a very clever and learned book.

The conclusion from a long examination of the Ephesian incident is that "it is impossible to discover a satisfactory reason for the omission of" so many occurrences as are known to us from Paul's own words, or why the author failed to relate the events which were of most interest and concern to Paul himself (p. 283), except that his "Sources" are to blame. But why was Luke bound to guide his history according to the thread of interest which guided Paul in writing to the Corinthians? Paul was arranging his topics to suit the special circumstances of the Corinthian Church; Luke was arranging his history according to his idea of the real importance of the topics.

This method of studying the *Acts*, and distinguishing between what is true and what is false or only half-true in it, is generally practised with a view to eliminate the "miraculous" element, and leave a solid basis of non-miraculous facts. The miraculous element is, undoubtedly, a serious difficulty; but no honest process of criticism can get rid of it. It is implicated in the inmost structure of the whole New Testament, and in the very nature of the men who wrote its books. Dr. McGiffert sees clearly and frankly recognises that the miraculous element cannot be expelled from *Acts*; that Paul, and his contemporaries, and the oldest and best "Sources" of *Acts*, all believe and accept and record miraculous events and miraculous powers. He leaves the marvellous element in *Acts*.

Accordingly, the miraculous healing of the lame man at Lystra "is too striking and unique to have been invented" (p. 189). Some of the accompaniments, however, are pronounced doubtful. There are analogies to *Acts* iii. 2 ff.

and x. 26 ; and the words of xiv. 15b-17 "are much like Paul's words in his address to the Athenians recorded in the seventeenth chapter of *Acts*." Therefore these touches are declared to result from the author's feeling "the influence of other accounts given elsewhere in his work." If I understand this phrase rightly, it means that the author could not resist the temptation of touching up his narrative here by introducing words and details from other incidents belonging to other years and countries, This is the same author, who, as we saw, so sternly resisted the temptation to touch up his narrative at Athens (except the speech of Paul, which he did embellish).

Moreover, when we turn to the passages which are said to have furnished the materials which are worked up in the Lystran incident, we find that they also have themselves been touched up, and are not pure, unadulterated early sources. How marvellous is the unerring art which can distinguish every layer in this complicated construction, and can determine how far the Lystran incident is taken from a good and trustworthy source, what details are added, from what secondary source each added detail is derived, what is the character of the secondary sources, and what elements in them are good and what are bad ! But this elaborate process is not recognised as permissible by profane historical critics : it is too clever for us.

The term "an older source" is used in a very vague way, which defies strict analysis, throughout the book. Wherever there is found in *Acts* any fact which can be accepted as true, it is attributed to the use by the author of "an older source." As the author was not the pupil and friend of Paul, we get the general impression that his authorities about events, none of which were known to him on his own authority as an actor in them,<sup>1</sup> were partly older and good, and partly later and bad.

<sup>1</sup> On that point Dr. McGiffert is quite clear and emphatic.

With this classification of the authorities in our mind, we turn to pp. 647 ff. There we find that the term "the Apostles" is used by the author of *Acts* in a peculiar and narrow sense, viz., denoting the primitive body of Twelve Apostles (to whom Paul is added as an equal, though of later appointment); whereas "in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John, and in the Epistle of Barnabas," as well as in the Apocalypse and the *Didache*, the term "Apostles" is used in a broader sense (which was the common use of the word, while the original Apostles are "the Twelve").

"In the book of Acts, on the other hand, the broader meaning appears only twice (xiv. 4, 14), and that apparently under the influence of an older source." In contrast to that "older source," the ordinary Lukan use of Apostles in the narrower meaning of "the Twelve" with Paul, is, as we must understand, under the influence of a later source. This "later source" was, however, of strongly Pauline character, for the narrower sense occurs during the first century "only in the writings of Paul himself, and of those authors who had felt his influence." Now the "older sources" described events in almost every stage of Paul's life, and therefore those on which chapters xiii. to xxviii. were founded can hardly have been written before 60-70 A.D. The "later source" is closely connected with Paul and under his influence, and, as it was employed by an author who composed his history between 80 and 95 A.D., it must have been written as early as 70-80 A.D. The distinction is remarkably subtle between the two classes of "source," and does great credit to the acumen of the scholar, who can preserve his balanced judgment as he walks along this sharp knife-edge, and can unhesitatingly distinguish between the older and the later source.

In the time of Bentley, it was a proof of genius, a matter requiring great acuteness and wide knowledge, to distinguish, as earlier and later, between works whose time of

composition was divided by centuries. In the present century, after discussion and minute examination by many generations of scholars, opinions vary widely as to the period to which many works belong. The *Nux* is taken by some critics for a youthful work of Ovid, while others would refer it to a time after Ovid's death. One of the greatest of modern scholars considers that the *Epiciedion Drusi* was composed in the fifteenth century after Christ; many believe that it was written in the first century before Christ immediately after the death of Drusus (9 B.C.).

But, without looking at the works themselves, the "Source-Theorist" decides with unhesitating confidence whether the source for some half-sentence or half-paragraph of Luke is old, dating from 60-70, or later, dating from 70-80 A.D. We humble students of history cannot come up to such skill as that; and we are so rude and barbarous as to smile at it and disbelieve in it. We think that, if the "Source-Theorists" had spent twenty years in the school of Mommsen and the great pagans, instead of among the theologians, they would see that they are attempting an impossibility, and would be as much amused at it as we profane scholars are. All theories of Acts, except one, result in hopeless confusion.

We have in Dr. McGiffert's work a book which shows many very great qualities, and which might have ranked among the small number of really good books, if it had not been spoiled by a bad theory as to the fundamental document, on which it must rest. But it will do good service in bringing home to us that, if the author was Luke, then the acknowledged difficulties in *Acts* must not be solved by the theory of insufficient information. Whom should we look to for knowledge of Paul, if not to Luke, his companion in so many captivities and journeys (the times when Paul would be least occupied with the daily cares of preaching and teaching)? Those who contend for Lukan

authorship must deny themselves the easy cure of inadequate knowledge. There was abundant opportunity for Luke to acquire exact information, if on any point he lacked it, for intercommunication was the life of the early Church, and numerous witnesses were living. Dr. McGiffert has destroyed that error, if an error can be destroyed.

W. M. RAMSAY.

### DIFFICULT PASSAGES IN ROMANS.

#### I. THE SON OF DAVID AND OF GOD.

IN this series, I shall discuss the meaning and teaching of the most difficult and important passages in the Epistle to the Romans. And, in order that we may see them *in situ*, in their relation to their context, I shall also give a short running outline of the argument of the Epistle.

Not having been at Rome, Paul begins his letter by introducing himself to his readers; and then sends to them a distinctively Christian greeting. He is *Paul*, a *servant of Jesus Christ*. The word *δοῦλος*, here used, is the ordinary term for a slave. That it conveys the idea of bondage, we learn from its contrast with the adjective *free* in 1 Cor. vii. 22, xii. 13, Gal. iii. 28, Eph. vi. 8, Col. iii. 11, and again in Rev. vi. 15, xiii. 16, xix. 18. For a hired servant, we have the term *μισθωτός*, as in Mark i. 20, John x. 12, 13. The word here used is correlative to *κύριος*, as in Matthew x. 24, 25. The mutual relation is well described in Matthew viii. 9: "I say to my servant do this; and he does it."

Objectionable as the term *slave of Christ* at first sight seems to be, it represents not inaccurately our real relation to Him. For although He rewards everyone according to his works, we are not hired servants who can leave His service for that of another master. He made us, and we

are His. We are therefore bound to Him by ties we cannot cast aside. This bond we recognise and gladly accept, as for our highest good. Thus bondage to Christ becomes perfect freedom: for it gives us full scope for our highest development.

By calling himself a slave of Christ, St. Paul pays honour to the Carpenter of Nazareth as one whom the pupil of Gamaliel is not ashamed to call his master. And by describing Him as *Jesus Christ*, he recognises the Nazarene as the *Anointed One* for whom his nation had long been waiting. By calling himself a servant, he also claims his readers' attention as speaking to them on behalf of one greater than himself. And he indicates his attitude of mind while writing this letter. It is a part of his service of Christ.

The writer claims to be *an apostle*. So 2 Corinthians i. 1, "Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus"; and still more emphatically in Gal. i. 1, "Paul, an apostle, not from men nor by agency of man, but by agency of Jesus Christ and of God the Father who raised Him from the dead." He thus puts himself in the first rank of the servants of Christ. So 1 Cor. xii. 28: "God put in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers." A similar enumeration in Ephesians iv. 11: "And He gave, on the one hand the apostles, on the other hand the prophets, the evangelists, the shepherds and teachers." Whatever was the number of the apostles, or in whatever variety of compass the word was used, by claiming this title St. Paul puts himself on a level with those whom, as we read in Luke vi. 13, Christ "named apostles."

St. Paul was an apostle by a divine summons. Similarly, as we read in 1 Sam. iii. 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, God *called* Samuel: and by that call he became, as we read in verse 20, "a prophet for Jehovah." So, in Matthew iv. 21, x. 1 f., we read that Christ *called* James and John to be apostles. His

own call, while on the way to Damascus, St. Paul describes in his speech to Agrippa recorded in Acts xxvi. 14-18: "Saul, Saul . . . to this end I have appeared to thee, to appoint thee a minister and witness both of the things which thou hast seen and those in which I will appear to thee, taking thee out of the people and the Gentiles, to whom I now send thee (*ἀποστέλλω*), to open their eyes, to turn them from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and a lot among the sanctified, by faith in Me."

Since Paul was actually an apostle and became such by a divine summons, it seems to me needless to insert the words *to be* in italics. He was *a called apostle*. The adjective is put before the substantive in order to give emphasis to the divine call by which he became an apostle.

The words following describe Paul's work. He had no other. Even while working as a tentmaker, he did so simply and only as the best means of securing acceptance for the word he preached. He was *separated* from every other work or aim except to spread *the Gospel of God*.

God spoke *through the prophets*: διὰ τῶν προφητῶν. So Matthew i. 22, ii. 5, 15, 17, 23, iii. 3, iv. 14, viii. 17, xii. 17, xiii. 35, xxi. 4, xxiv. 15, xxvii. 9, Acts ii. 16, xxviii. 25. A fuller phrase is found in Luke i. 70, Acts iii. 18, 21: "through the mouth of the prophets." This phrase, a conspicuous feature of the First Gospel, represents the prophet as the mouthpiece through which God spoke: τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου.

Notice that the promise passed *through* the lips of the prophets. It abides and continues to speak *in Holy Writings*. The absence of the article before this last phrase leaves us to look at the writings qualitatively. God spoke through a definite class of men present to the writer's thought: His word finds permanent embodiment in certain sacred writings. The adjective *holy* puts the books among

the various sacred objects of the Old Covenant as standing in special relation to God.

In one sense, as we read in Gal. iii. 8, the Gospel was announced beforehand to Abraham : *προευγγελίσατο*. But here St. Paul contents himself with saying that it was *before-promised*. The prophets spoke of it as reserved for the future. As an example, I may quote Jeremiah xxxi. 31-33 : "Behold, days are coming, saith Jehovah, and I will make with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah a new covenant . . . I will put My law within them and upon their heart I will write it, and I will be their God and they shall be My people."

St. Paul's reference, in the second verse of his epistle, to the ancient prophets and to the Holy Scriptures is characteristic. He always represents the Gospel as a consummation of revelations given under the earlier covenant, in complete harmony with, yet surpassing, them. And this illustrates a still broader principle. Every new work of God is in harmony with, and supplements, His previous works. He never makes an absolutely new beginning ; nor does He begin with the highest, but always passes from lower to higher, each step preparing a way for a further step.

In this second verse of his epistle, as in his whole teaching, St. Paul claims respect for the Gospel as fore-announced by men to whom all Jews look up with reverence, and in books held to be sacred. It is therefore not new, but has been foreseen and prepared for during long centuries.

Verses 3 and 4 state the great matter of the Gospel : *concerning His Son*. The definite article makes τοῦ Ἰησοῦ αὐτοῦ a distinguishing title of the Person referred to. He was known as the Son of God. This suggests irresistibly that His relation to God and His mode of derivation from God differ in kind from that by which men and angels sprang from their Creator's hands.

On this august title, the writer lingers with further exposition. *According to flesh*: looked at from the point of view of bodily form, the Son of God entered a new mode of existence through the gateway of David's descendants. With the words *γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαυίδ* compare John i. 14, *σὰρξ ἐγένετο*. The verb *γίνομαι* without a secondary predicate denotes to enter into existence absolutely, as in John i. 3, *πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο*: with a secondary predicate, as here, it denotes entrance on a new state of being. Such, to Him, was the condition entered by the Son at His birth in Israel.

Parallel with *τοῦ γενομένου* is *τοῦ ὀρισθέντος*: *who was marked out as Son of God*. The word *ὀρίζω*, from which we have *horizon*, denotes to draw a *ὄρος* or boundary around an object, thus marking it off from others or defining it. The same word is used, also in reference to Christ, in Acts x. 42: "This is He that is *marked out* by God as judge of men living and dead." It is found again in Acts xvii. 31: "He will judge the world in righteousness in a man whom He has *marked out*: whereof He has given assurance to all men by raising Him from the dead." Christ had announced that He would return to judge the world. And He claimed, at least by sure inference, to be the Son of God. By raising Him from the dead, God confirmed this announcement and this claim. He thus drew a line around Jesus of Nazareth, marking Him off from all others as the designated Judge of the world, and as, in a unique sense, Son of God. This attestation came from His empty grave: *ὀρισθέντος . . . ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν*.

The plural form *νεκρῶν* is puzzling. For the resurrection referred to was of one man only. A parallel may be found in Matthew ii. 20: "they are dead who sought the child's life." For these words were spoken on the death of Herod, the only person of whom we read as desiring to kill the infant Jesus. In each case the plural calls attention not to

one case, but to the class to which it belongs. No one lives whom Joseph need fear. By victory over death the son of David was marked out as Son of God.

This marking out took place amid a manifestation of Divine power: *ἐν δυνάμει*. Hence came its validity as proof that Christ is Son of God. The greatness of the power revealed the Hand of God; and thus gave His sanction to the claims of Christ. Similarly the mission of an ambassador is sometimes supported by an exhibition of the naval or military power of the monarch who sends him. To the power of God manifested in the resurrection of Christ, great prominence is given in Ephesians i. 19 f.: "according to the energy of the might of His strength, which energy He put forth in Christ when He raised Him from the dead." This passage is an example of what we frequently find in the epistles of Paul, a thought existing in germ in the second group and receiving fuller development in the third. This is, however, no argument for the later date of the third group. For it is much more likely that this real and valuable development took place in the mind of Paul than in some writer of the second century. Of such valuable development of Christian doctrine, we have no trace in sub-apostolic times. Another reference to the power of God is found in 2 Corinthians xiii. 4: "He was crucified from weakness; nevertheless He lives from the power of God." We have here, as in Romans i. 4, effects proceeding from causes.

The absence of the article before *Son of God* in verse 4, in contrast to its presence before *His Son* in verse 3, calls attention, not to the definite person bearing this title, but to the dignity involved in the title itself. The term is here used qualitatively, as are the terms *Gospel of God* and *Holy Writings* in verses 1 and 2.

The different descriptions of Christ given in verses 3 and 4 are said to correspond with the different points of view

from which He may be regarded. *According to flesh, i.e.* from the point of view of His material form, He sprang from David's descendants. *According to spirit, i.e.* from the point of view of the unseen and animating principle within that bodily form, He was marked out as Son of God.

The contrast of *flesh* and *spirit* is as wide, not only as human life, but as life itself except perhaps in its lowest forms. Everywhere we have the outward, visible, material, organic form, animated and moved by the inward and unseen and immaterial spirit.

The *flesh* is related to the *body* as the cloth to the coat. The latter is the individual organism, consisting of various members, each with its own function. The former is the material common to many organisms, and having qualities peculiar to itself. The material has varieties. "There is one flesh of men, another flesh of cattle, another of birds, and another of fishes" (1 Cor. xv. 39). But all these varieties are related, by many common qualities and functions, as *flesh*.

The contrast of *flesh* and *spirit* meets us again in Romans viii. 4, 5, 6, 9, 13. It there denotes two influences, each claiming to direct man's steps. But even here the original meaning of the word *flesh* must not be lost sight of. That a word denoting primarily the material of man's body is used to describe an immoral influence, implies that the body exerts in some cases such influence. And this is implied in ch. vi. 12, "Let not sin reign as king in your mortal body in order to obey its desires. The body has, in virtue of its constitution, certain desires and dislikes which tend to rule the whole of human life. These tendencies, yielded to, always lead to sin. This does not imply that the material of our bodies is essentially bad; but that sin, always a disintegrating power, entrenches itself in the lower side of our nature, and from this vantage ground seeks to dominate the whole man. But manifestly this

conflict had no place in the God-Man. The moral contrast and antagonism of *flesh* and *spirit* so conspicuous in Romans viii. 4-13, Galatians v. 16-vi. 8, is essentially different from the contrast before us.

This moral use, however, of the word *flesh* reminds us that it suggests thoughts other than mere bodily form. At this we need not wonder. For life is never found except robed in a definite and peculiar bodily form. Consequently the word used to denote this bodily form connotes life, and especially human life, in all its manifestations. So Romans iii. 20, "by works of law shall no *flesh* be justified." Here the word *flesh* includes the whole man. Except in the case of the dead, which is an abnormal condition of flesh, we cannot think of the bodily form without some thought of its animating life. But in so thinking, we must always keep in view the bodily form which suggested the use of the word *flesh*. And we have no right to enlarge the connotation of the word except so far as is suggested by the context. In the passage before us, this primary meaning gives good and sufficient sense. Touching His bodily form, Christ sprang from David's seed. At the same time, we need not doubt that, along with bodily form and from the same source, He received much more than His material clothing. But how much He received this passage does not say. Nor have we any indication that inherited faculties were in the writer's thought.

We come now to the second and nobler side of the contrast: *according to spirit*. In the contrast, noted above, in chapter viii. 4-13, the word *spirit* is expounded by St. Paul himself to denote the Spirit of God, of Christ, of Him that raised Christ. In verse 10, the indwelling of the Spirit of God and of Christ is described as the inward presence of Christ Himself. This spirit can be no other than the Personal and Holy Spirit of God, the Third of the Divine Three. As the source of an influence moving man and

guiding His steps from within, He stands in conspicuous contrast to the flesh, the bodily nature common to all men in which, in the unsaved, sin dwells and reigns.

By Chrysostom and other ancient expositors, the term *spirit of holiness*, here contrasted with *flesh*, was interpreted in this common use of the word *spirit*. But the Spirit of God stands in no special contrast to the bodily form of Christ. The natural contrast is that of the inward spirit which animated and moved that sacred body, spoke through those lips, and through the face of Jesus smiled on men. And this gives good sense. Looked at from the point of view of His body, He was David's son: looked at from the point of view of the spirit which moved that bodily form, He was marked off from all others as, in a unique sense, Son of God.

In this *spirit* of Christ, we can distinguish two elements. The voice which spoke through those human lips claimed to be that of the own and only-begotten Son of God, compared with whom the greatest of men were but servants. So Romans viii. 32, John iii. 16, 18, Hebrews iii. 5, 6. This implies that in His relation to God and mode of derivation from God He differs in kind from all others. Abundant other teaching in the New Testament makes Him a sharer of the infinity and the eternity of God. This places Him above the infinite distance which separates the Creator from the created. This divine element in the Incarnate Son is indisputably spirit. For God is Spirit. And it is the divine source of all the human activity of Christ. Looked at from the point of view of this divine element, the son of David is also Son of God.

But in Him there is another element. For here and there in the New Testament we find indications of limited and therefore created intelligence. In Luke ii. 52 we see a boy of twelve increasing in wisdom as in stature. And even at the close of His earthly course we find that the

Son does not know the day of His return : Mark xiii. 32. To this human element are most easily attributed the emotions of trouble and sorrow described in John xi. 33, "troubled in spirit," and in chapter xii. 27, "now is My soul troubled." In other words, in Christ we see a created human spirit mysteriously informed and permeated by the divine personality of the Eternal Son.

This created and pure human spirit must have been a new creation of God. For it did not inherit the stain and moral bondage resulting from Adam's sin. Just as Adam, when first created, was a created outflow of the uncreated personality of God, so, but in far higher degree, was the created human intelligence of the God-Man an outflow and human counterpart of the infinite intelligence of the Eternal Son.

In the Incarnate Son we can detect yet another element, a purely animal yet immaterial nature, in closest relation to the flesh, the seat of bodily appetites such as hunger and thirst. If this were present to the writer's thought, it would be included under the term *flesh*, and doubtless it was derived from David's seed.

With this conception of the Incarnate Son, as present in the Apostle's thought, we return to the verses before us. Looking at Him from the point of view of outward bodily form, He came from the family of David. Looking at the invisible and immaterial spirit which moved His human form, He was marked out from all others, by resurrection from the dead, as Son of God. In this inner side of the son of David were, as we have just seen, two elements, a divine personality and a created human spirit. In reference to each of these Christ was Son of God. And it is not easy to say which was chiefly in St. Paul's thought. And the distinction is immaterial. For the human spirit was a perfect created counterpart of the divine nature of Christ. What He was touching the one, He was also

touching the other. But as the human spirit of Christ came into immediate contact with the body born at Bethlehem, and is the simplest contrast to it, perhaps this was the writer's chief reference. With this corresponds the use of the word *spirit* in Romans i. 9, viii. 10, 1 Corinthians v. 3, 4, and especially verse 5, "destruction of the *flesh* in order that the *spirit* may be saved," and elsewhere.

The added word of *holiness* characterises the *spirit* of the Son as holy, *i.e.* as standing in definite relation to God, and as absolutely devoted to Him. This devotion finds expression in John iv. 34, "My food is that I may do the will of Him that sent Me and complete His work"; and in chapter vii. 38, "I am come down from heaven not in order that I may do My own will but the will of Him that sent Me." Both the divine personality and the human spirit of the eternal Son turned ever towards the Father, His one purpose being to accomplish the Father's purposes. In Him therefore was realised in human form the consecration dimly outlined in the ancient ritual.

The above exposition illustrates the bearing of Systematic Theology on exegesis. This last has often been warped by dogmatic prejudice. Against this we must be ever on our guard. But a man's words, written or spoken, can be understood only in the light of his thought as a whole, of which the thought he wishes to convey is a part. Indeed the same words from different lips and to different ears convey often different ideas. To understand correctly the words of an ancient writer, we must reproduce the mental environment from which they sprang. This is specially the case when he deals with a matter which, like theology, has a phraseology of its own. Without some comprehension of Paul's thought and modes of thought there can be no reliable interpretation of his words.

After expounding the double nature of the Incarnate

Son, St. Paul goes on to describe his own relation to Christ, and through Him to his readers. This relation is shared by others: *we received*. Whether the plural *we* was designed to include Barnabas, who along with Paul, as we read in Acts xiii. 2, was specially called to work among the Gentiles, or refers to the world-wide commission given, as recorded in Acts i. 8, to the whole apostolic band, the words before us do not determine. But the reference to Barnabas is very unlikely. The words simply assert that others besides Paul had received the *apostleship*.

The preposition *διὰ* with genitive is constantly used, as here, to describe the relation of the Son of God both to creation and to redemption. It belongs distinctively to the Second Person of the Trinity. So 1 Corinthians viii. 6, "one Lord, Jesus Christ, *through whom* are all things, and we *through Him*"; similarly Colossians i. 16, "*through Him and for Him* were all things created"; and verse 20, "*through Him* to reconcile all things to Himself." Important coincidences are found in Hebrews i. 2, "*through whom* He made the ages"; and in John i. 3, 10, "all things were made *through Him* . . . the world was made *through Him*." The eternal Son is the instrument or Agent of all that God does, the channel *through* which His purposes pass into actuality.

Through Christ the smile and favour of God fell upon Paul: and through His agency he received his mission as an apostle. There is no greater mark of the favour of God than appointment to evangelical work. The aim of this apostolic mission (same words again in chapter xvi. 26) is to lead men *to obedience*. The genitive following may be expounded either obedience to faith, or obedience characterised by faith. The practical difference is slight. But, inasmuch as we find in 2 Corinthians x. 5 "obedience of Christ," and in 1 Peter i. 22 "obedience of the truth," in each case noting the object obeyed, and in Acts vi. 7

"obeyed the faith," it is better to give this interpretation to the words before us. Faith in Christ involves always submission to His authority. The words *among all the Gentiles* mark out the vast sphere of apostolic work allotted to Paul; in complete harmony with Galatians ii. 9, "that we should go to the Gentiles." But Paul's separation from Barnabas makes very unlikely a special reference to him here. Doubtless Paul was thinking chiefly of himself. The words following, *on behalf of His name*, describe the aim of this mission among the Gentiles, viz., to proclaim the name of Christ, this implying His claim to be the Son of God.

This scope of apostleship includes, not only other Gentiles, but also Paul's readers: *among whom are also ye*. The readers addressed are further characterized as *called ones of Jesus Christ*. Just as on the way to Damascus Paul received a divine summons which made him an apostle, so in the Gospel his readers received a summons which gave them to Christ. By that call, they became His. So, writing to some of his converts, he says in 2 Thessalonians ii. 14, "who called you, through our Gospel, to obtaining of the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ."

The readers addressed are further described in the words following, *to all the beloved ones of God who are at Rome*; and still further as *called saints*. This last phrase is parallel to that in which, in verse 1, the writer asserts his apostleship. The reason for the translation here given is the same in both cases. He was an apostle and they were saints, in each case by a divine summons. So in Romans viii. 27, xii. 13, xv. 25, 26, 31, xvi. 2, 15, and elsewhere frequently the members of Christian Churches are called *saints*.

The word *saints* recalls the holy objects of the Old Covenant, and especially the sacred persons. So Psalm cvi. 16: "Aaron the saint of Jehovah." Aaron and his sons were holy in the sense that God had claimed them

to be His own, claimed for His service their powers and their lives. This claim was independent of their personal character. Even the deep sin of Hophni and Phineas did not obliterate the fact that God had claimed them to do His holy work. Their high office made their immorality to be sacrilege. So does God claim for Himself all whom in Christ He saves. Just so, as we read in Exodus xiii. 1, He claimed the firstborn whom He had rescued from death by the blood of the Paschal Lamb. This is the objective holiness of the people of God. In other words, the phrase *called saints* does but express, in language borrowed from the ancient ritual, the truth already expressed in the phrase *called ones of Jesus Christ*. Thus Paul, who began his greeting by claiming a position which the call of Christ gave to him, closes it by recognising a position which an equally real divine summons had given to his readers.

Thus has St. Paul spanned the gulf between the Jew of Tarsus and the Gentile Christians at Rome. The key-stone of the connecting bridge is the son of David, who is also Son of God, of whom both he and they are servants, made such by divine summons. He wishes for them *grace*, the smile and favour of God through which he has himself received apostleship; and *peace*, the inward rest evoked by this smile of God. May all this come to them from the common *Father* and the common *Lord*.

Notice the high honour paid to Christ by the close collocation of His name, under one preposition, with the name of God: *from God, our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ*. So 1 Corinthians i. 3, 2 Corinthians i. 2, and usually in the epistles of Paul. In contrast to this association of the Father and the Son, the risen Lord is careful, as recorded in John xx. 17, to distinguish His relation to God from that of His disciples: "I ascend to My Father and your Father, and My God and your God." In the words before us Paul does not hesitate to link together in closest association the

names of Christ and of God as the one source of blessing. But, that the Father is spoken of simply as *God* and Jesus Christ only as *Lord*, suggests that it was not then usual to speak of Christ as God. This title was a correct theological inference of a somewhat later day. Points of transition to this later theological position are found in John xx. 28, "my Lord and my God," and in chapter i. 1, "the Word was God."

In the apostolic greeting which in this paper I have endeavoured to expound, we have found a conspicuous feature of the Epistle to the Romans, viz., the profound homage with which its gifted author bows in the presence of one who in his own day had been put to death in the city in which he was educated and afterwards lived. This homage of one man for another is unique in literature. This may be illustrated by the words with which Plato, at the close of the *Phædo*, describes Socrates: "Such was the end of our friend, whom I may truly call the wisest and justest and best of all the men whom I have known." This lowly homage to a fellow-countryman of his own day can be accounted for only as in this greeting Paul accounts for it: "marked out as Son of God by resurrection of the dead." And that the persecutor was led to believe that the object of his persecution had triumphed over death, and the immense effect of this belief on his subsequent thought and life and on the world, can be accounted for only by the historic reality of the resurrection of Christ and by the eternal reality of the unique relation to God which St. Paul claimed on His behalf.

In my next paper, I hope to discuss St. Paul's theory of Ethics.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

*THE ARTICLES OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.*

[THE following commentary on the Articles of the Apostles' Creed forms the second part of a pamphlet published by Professor Zahn in 1893. By way of introduction we have added the author's short summary of the history of the Creed. The translation has been made from the 2nd German edition. The Author has most kindly supplied some corrections and additional notes, which he has prepared for a 3rd edition. We wish to add that we do not necessarily agree with all the opinions expressed, but are confident that so eloquent a profession of belief in the great truths of the Incarnation, the Resurrection, and the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Personality of the Holy Ghost, will interest many readers, and may help to confirm their faith.—TRANS.]

The Apostles' Creed, which we profess to this day, has had an historical development extending over many hundred years. . . . It has its roots in Christ's command to baptize. Against the authenticity of that command no historical reasons worthy of consideration have been brought forward. It was necessary that the newly converted should confess their faith, both before and at their reception of Baptism. On this condition they were baptized, and out of the baptismal formula grew a baptismal confession, which had already assumed a more or less stereotyped form in early Apostolic times. At a somewhat later period, somewhere between 70-120, the original formula, which reminds us of the Jewish origin of Christianity, was reconstructed. Thus it appeared better suited to the needs of the baptized, who mostly came out of heathendom. This altered formula was very soon widely

known. We find it at Ephesus in 130, at Rome in 145, and again between 180-210 at Carthage, Lyons, and Smyrna. It also forms the groundwork of all the later baptismal confessions of the Eastern Churches.<sup>1</sup> Between the years 200-220, the first article was slightly altered in Rome (for the reasons mentioned on pp. 20-30, German ed.). This altered form was adopted by the Churches of Italy, of Africa, and probably also of the South of France. For many generations the Roman Church, and a few Churches closely united to Rome, held strictly to this form, which had been published in Rome early in the 3rd century. In all the other Churches the Creed was thenceforward developed with considerable freedom. In the East, where the Roman recension of 200-220 could not find an entrance, its course was other than in the West, in Carthage other than in Aquileia. The inner and outer factors, which determined these provincial developments, and the exchanges between the different Churches are for the most

<sup>1</sup> Our information about the Creed of Alexandria is particularly scanty. What Caspari (*Zeitschr. für kirchl. Wissensch.*, 1886, pp. 352-375) has said about the baptismal Creed of Clement needs fuller treatment. On the symbol of Antioch cf. Caspari, I, 73-99; Hahn, p. 64 f. Beside the defective narratives belonging to a later period, which are there discussed, these passages in the Didascalia (preserved to us only in Syriac, the basis of the Apostolic Constitutions), which resemble a creed, must be reckoned as witnesses of an older period. It was originally a Greek work, and saw the light in Antioch, or not far off in the 3rd century, perhaps even during its first half; cf. Funk. *Die Apost. Const.*, pp. 50-55. Apart from the doxology at the end of the Didascalia (Lagarde, p. 120 f.) special attention should be paid to the shorter but, in a certain sense, more complete formula, p. 81, 14 ff., and a third passage, p. 102, 5 ff., about which there will be something more to say at the end of this treatise. For the first article the constant use of the form Θεὸς πατοκράτωρ (p. 36, 21; 81, 8; 94, 3; 101, 16; 102, 8; 106, 8; 121, 7) is characteristic. Sometimes "the Lord" precedes it (p. 37, 23; 81, 15). We never read Θεὸς πατήρ πατοκράτωρ, for the word "Father" on p. 102, 8, has been inserted by a second hand. The passage 1, 8 ("you who have taken the liberty of calling God the Almighty Father") does not belong here. Also there is no emphasis laid on the Unity or Oneness of God. For the 2nd article note p. 85, 3; 87, 25; for the 3rd article p. 85, 4 ("the holy Church of God"), cf. p. 1, 4; 60, 16; 101, 28; 106, 11, 29 ("the Catholic Church"), and p. 55, 28; 106, 24, where both attributes of the Church are combined in a varying order.

part unknown to history. The Gallican Church of the 3rd and 4th centuries especially lies for us in utter darkness with regard to this as to many other points.<sup>1</sup> And yet it seems that it was in that very South Gallican Church during the 5th century that the revision of the Creed, which was to spread all over the West and supersede all the other forms, took its final impress.

Reviewing the whole argument, we may conclude that the legend that the Apostles before the beginning of their missionary journeys composed the Creed which was called after them, contains more historical truth and wisdom than the assertion that the Apostles' Creed was a production of the fifth or sixth century.

An attempt to investigate thoroughly the contents of the Creed, and to estimate its full value, would far exceed the limits assigned to this pamphlet and the strength which I have at my disposal. But a discussion may be of some use, though it does not pretend to be perfect, which compares with the separate articles of the Creed, the old Church doctrines, and the testimony of the New Testament. I shall place first the separate sentences as they are to be found in the received Latin text, which corresponds to the Latin edition of the Book of Concords of 1584, and to the Roman catechism of 1566. Next to it I shall place the German text given three times in the German Book of Concords of 1580, at the head of the collection under the title "The Three Chief Concords or Confessions of the Faith of Christ, as used unanimously by the

<sup>1</sup> Hilary of Poitiers, who praises the Baptismal Creed so highly, has (so far as I know) never reproduced that of his own Church. Moreover, on account of the geographical position of Poitiers, such a narrative would not be an authentic witness for the district of Arles, Marseilles, Riez. The same objection may be applied to the *Libellus fidei* of Phœbadius or Fœgadius of Agen, which contains none of the characteristic features of the later Apostles' Creed. Also a more exact investigation of its origin is needed. Alas! the *septem "De fide et regulis fidei" libri* of Syagrius (Gennadius, v. ill. 66), as distinguished from his book *De fide*, which Gennadius has previously described, has not come down to us.

Churches." It forms a constituent part of Luther's two catechisms.<sup>1</sup> Below I shall quote some other forms of the Creed to illustrate its development:—*Rom.* = the Greek text of the Roman Creed between the years 220–450; *Aquil.* = the Creed of Aquileia according to Rufinus; *Afr.* = the Creed of the African Church as it already existed in substance in Cyprian, first completely in Augustine, in several pseudo-Augustinian sermons, and in Fulgentius of Ruspe<sup>2</sup>; *Jerus.* = the Creed of Jerusalem according to a fragment of the Liturgy of James and the Catecheses of Cyril<sup>3</sup>; *Ant.* = the Creed of Antioch according to Cassian's Latin translation and a Greek fragment.<sup>4</sup>

## I.

Credo in Deum patrem omni- I believe in God the Father  
potentem, creatorem coeli et terræ. Almighty, Maker of heaven and  
earth.

*Rom.*: πιστεύω εἰς Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα.—*Aqu.*: Credo in Deo patre omnipotente, invisibili et impassibili.—*Afr.*: Credo (or credimus) in Deum patrem omnipotentem, universorum creatorem, regem sæculo-

<sup>1</sup> I quote the Latin and the German *Book of Concord*s from J. T. Müller, *Die symb. Bücher der ev.-luth. Kirche* (1848), p. 28; the *Catechismus Romanus*, in the first book of which the Creed is not found in a connected form, but in detached portions, from *Libri symbolici ecclesiæ romano-catholicæ*, ed. Danz (1836), p. 367 ff. In the catechisms, the German *Book of Concord*s (Müller, p. 357, 450) has "God the Father Almighty" (for "God Father Almighty"); in the second article the smaller catechism shows some variations of style.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Caspari, II. 245–282, esp. p. 253 f.; Hahn, pp. 29–35.

<sup>3</sup> The Liturgy of James from Morel's text in Daniel, *Codex liturg.*, iv. 99. Although the Creed immediately after the beginning of the second article breaks off with the words καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς τοῦ συμβόλου τῆς πίστεως, it can be distinguished as differing from the Creed of Cyril and from the Nicene Creed. The fact that in four MSS. printed by Swainson (*The Greek Liturgies* (1884) p. 244 f.) the Creed is shrivelled up to the words πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν, with the further addition in one MS. of πατέρα παντοκράτορα, is of little or no importance. The Creed was plainly very old (Caspari, III. 200) and had long been out of date when those MSS. were written, and was for the most part so much curtailed by copyists that any favourite form of Creed served as a continuation. Caspari has discussed the Baptismal Creed of Cyril in his Norwegian *Historisk-Kritiske Afhandlinger* (1881), p. 95–277.

<sup>4</sup> Cassianus c. Nestorium, VI. 3 ff. (opp. ed. Petschenig, I. 327 ff.) and Caspari, I. 73–99, but cf. also p. 47, n. 1, *supra*, Germ. ed.

rum, immortalem et invisibilem.—*Jerus.* : πιστεύω (or πιστεύομεν) εἰς ἓν Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς.<sup>1</sup>—*Antioch.* : Credo in unum et solum verum Deum, patrem omnipotentem, creatorem omnium visibilium et invisibilium creaturarum.

It has been proved (on pp. 23 ff., German edition) that not one of these forms of article 1 was the original. Much more probably it was πιστεύω εἰς ἓν Θεὸν παντοκράτορα without any addition. It was in the beginning of the third century that the first words of the Western Creeds, including our own, were formulated in Rome and spread from thence throughout the West. We must give the Oriental Churches credit for having consistently preserved the confession of the unity of God, in part with accentuated expression,<sup>2</sup> and for their tenacious holding to the original. No words need be wasted in discussing the usefulness of the original formula for new converts from heathenism, and of its agreement with the teaching of Jesus and the Apostles.<sup>3</sup> Must we therefore blame the Roman and other Western Churches, which joined her, for giving up the older form and introducing in its place that which has ever since been predominant in the West? Their reasons were

<sup>1</sup> Only so much in the Liturgy of James. Cyril adds ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων.

<sup>2</sup> Rufinus (*Expos. Symb.*, 4, 5) speaks only of "almost all Eastern Churches" as having the *unum* in the 1st and 2nd articles. This limitation may refer to the fact that it was frequently wanting in the 2nd article of Oriental Creeds; e.g., in the Creed of the Smyrnæans, according to the testimony of Hippolytus, which alone comes into consideration (see p. 24, n. 1, *supra*, Germ. ed.), the Antiochian, according to Cassian, in *Const. Ap.*, vii. 41, etc. In the 1st article, on the contrary, it is lacking in none of the eastern symbols. For apparent exceptions, among which is to be reckoned the Didascalia (p. 47, n. 1, Germ. ed.), see Caspari, III. 50, n. 88. The free narrative of Aphraates (ed. Wright, p. 22) is to be judged in the same way. In the question to which a reply is here given the oneness of God is emphasized; in the reply this point is omitted without any intentional opposition.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 28, n. 2, Germ. ed. The reminiscence of John 17. 3 makes itself distinctly heard in many Eastern Creeds which accentuate the unity of God, e.g., *Const. Ap.*, vii. 41, and the Antiochian Creed. Also 1 Cor. 8. 4-6 and Eph. 4. 5 f., have had some influence, especially in cases where emphasis is also laid on the unity of the Lord Christ; cf. even Irenæus, I. 8, 6 (if the word κύριον, wanting in the Latin text is the true reading), and Clement, *Strom.*, vii. 107.

justifiable when they strove to render the work of trifling critics more difficult, and to shield the "simple," who always form the majority of the community (p. 26, Germ. ed.). Those critics sought, by an appeal to their baptismal confession, to foist upon them views which were as antagonistic to the Scriptures as to the development of Christian thought on the Person of Christ. In altering the form of confession they no more altered the confession of the Church than Luther, when he did not hesitate to expound our Creed in his Catechism and at the same time to lead the congregation in singing: "We all believe in one God, the Maker of heaven and earth." Just as little would one of us have made an alteration in the Creed if he repeated it aloud with the congregation every Sunday at Erlangen, though for years he had constantly sung Luther's metrical Creed instead of it at Leipsic. The path marked out by the Apostolic forms of speech was not forsaken. These alterations were made in order to protest against two opposing Monarchian heresies; and to protect two equally important elements of the Christian faith, the personal distinction of the Son from the Father disputed by Noetus and Praxeas, and the unreserved offering of faith and prayer to Jesus criticised by Theodotus and others as the idolizing of a man and the denial of Monotheism.

If the original Creed and also the altered Roman form were content to express the relation of God to the world in one word, *παντοκράτωρ*, only the fact that God had power over all was directly asserted. But as neither a Jew nor a Christian ever held this faith except in connection with the thought that God was the Creator of the world, this was taken for granted from the beginning. The manifold forms in which this thought has attained unequivocal expression in the Creeds are only amplifications of the original. No one can say exactly when such an addition was first incorporated into the baptismal con-

fession of a Church. The defenders of the faith of the Church from Justin onwards opposed Marcion and most of the Gnostics, who distinguished the Creator of the world, the Demiurge, from the God of the Christian faith. They were never weary of emphasizing this fact, and also inserted it in varying phrases in many free reproductions of the baptismal confession. On the other hand, it was as yet wanting in the oldest forms of the Creed, which can be traced with certainty. We may therefore conclude that it was inserted in consequence of this opposition. But this opposition, especially when directed against Marcion, was still keenly maintained far on into the 3rd century, and was kept alive in the consciousness of the whole Church from Persia to Spain by the similar tendencies of that later period. However, from the wide propagation of the confession of faith in God as Creator, and the many ways in which this was expressed in the baptismal Creeds of the 4th century, two statements may be proved without difficulty. First, this addition did not spring up in one place and spread from thence in all directions. Secondly, it was included in the baptismal confessions of most Churches before the Council of Nicæa, and long before there was any thought of giving up the shorter Roman form at Rome and Milan. Of the many varieties of this addition, that which we possess in our Creed is by far the simplest and most dignified. Nor is any injury done to the old Creed if, when the German Creed is repeated, the word "Almighty" is always connected with "Maker of heaven and earth," in spite of the history of the development of the Creed and the exegesis of the old interpreters, for God has made known His Omnipotence pre-eminently in the creation.<sup>1</sup> Faith in the one expression stands or falls with faith in the other.

<sup>1</sup> The original form (p. 28, Germ. ed.) must be translated "in one God the Almighty," in spite of the probability that an article was also wanting here.

## II.

Et in Jesum Christum, filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum.	And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord.
---	---

*Rom.* : Καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν (τὸν ?) υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν. *Aqu.* : Et in Christo Jesu, unico filio ejus, Domino nostro. *Afr.* : Credo in Jesum Christum, filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum.<sup>1</sup>  
*Jerus.* : Καὶ εἰς ἓνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ.<sup>2</sup>

*Antioch.* : Et in Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium ejus unigenitum et primogenitum totius creaturae, ex eo natum ante omnia secula et non factum, Deum verum ex Deo vero, homousion patri, per quem et secula compaginata sunt et omnia facta.

We do not know whether the word "unicum," which corresponds with the Greek *μονογενῆ*, always formed part of the Creed (see p. 45, Germ. ed.), or whether it was first an addition, and then in conscious remembrance of John 1. 14, 18; 3. 16, 18. 1 John 4. 9 was accepted in most Churches. But it only states what every confessor of Jesus Christ has always meant when he called Him the Son of God; namely, that He was the Son in a peculiar manner, in a sense which could not be applied to the later born sons and children of God, who had first become so through Christ. The word in its constant application to Jesus may be a peculiarity of St. John's; the thought has been universally Christian ever since Jesus has had believing worshippers. For the same Hebrew word, which is translated in Greek *μονογενής*,<sup>3</sup> is also rendered by *ἀγαπητός*,

The Roman form had "in God (the) Father the Almighty." But even after "Creator of heaven and earth" was added there was no need to connect with it "omnipotentem," which is still separate in the *Catechismus Rom.*, l. i., p. 375, and is explained as an independent article.

<sup>1</sup> So according to Fulgentius in Caspari, II. 254; on the other hand, Augustine in *Sermo* 215 (ed. Bass, viii., 949), in which the African Creed is explained: *Credimus et in filium ejus, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.*

<sup>2</sup> So far the Liturgy of James. But as it breaks off here with "*et cetera*," it is possible that some of Cyril's additions may belong to the original form. That is not to say it is probable. If the words which follow in Cyril, *τὸν μονογενῆ*, had always stood in the Creed of Jerusalem, the copyist of the Liturgy would surely have put his "*etc.*" after rather than before them.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm 23. 21; 35. 17, of the only soul possessed by man; so Tobias 3. 15;

though perhaps not quite so correctly. But Christ was called the beloved Son<sup>1</sup> long before St. John wrote his Gospel. How Jesus is the only Son because He is the only begotten Son is not explained by any of these attributes. But the Creed explains it in that which follows. The other variations of this article in the old Creeds have no religious importance. If we had a free choice, we should give our Creed the preference over all the forms varying from it, in consideration of the natural sequence of the words and the rhythm of the sentences.

THEOD. ZAHN.

## CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT AND EVOLUTION.

### 1. NATURE OF THE QUESTIONS INVOLVED.

IRRESPECTIVE of Divine revelation, the minds of the more thoughtful and gifted men, inquiring as to the origin of the universe, have oscillated between the ideas of a Divine creative power planning and determining the cosmos, and a fortuitous concourse of particles or of energies working out unintelligently, and by an almost interminable series of trials and errors, the existing equilibrium of nature. The former has always appeared to the majority of men the more rational idea, because it postulates a First Cause akin to the only self-determining or primary power known by experience, viz. the human will and reason; and because

Luke 7. 12; 9. 38; Hebrews 11. 17 of the only child. In Genesis 22. 2, 16 which is quoted in Hebrews 11. 17, the LXX. gives the translation *ἀγαπητός*, as in many other cases. In Judges 11. 34 the same Hebrew word is translated in many MSS. of the LXX. by the double use of *μονογενής* and *ἀγαπητός*. The Vulgate has sometimes *unicus* (Psalm 22. 21; 35. 17; Luke 7. 12; 9. 38), sometimes *unigenitus* (Gen. 22. 2, 16; Judges 11. 34; Heb. 11. 17 and in the Johannine passages). St. Paul expresses what is in substance the same thought by *τὸν ἰδίον υἱόν* (Rom. 8. 32, where Gen. 22. 16 is quoted), and by *τὸν αὐτοῦ υἱόν* (Rom. 8. 3).

<sup>1</sup> Matthew 3. 17 17. 5; Mark 1. 11; 9. 7; Luke 20. 13, cf. Ephesians 1. 6.

the resolution of all the complicated adjustments in the universe into mere blind chance seems to our mental constitution inconceivable, besides removing that bond which unites us with external nature, when considered as the product with ourselves of the power and wisdom of a common Creator.

In recent times, however, the vast growth of physical and natural science has so excited the minds of men that many have assumed to be gods to themselves, and the bold mechanical hypotheses of Spencer, Darwin, and others have gained much credence, not only among scientific specialists, but with the general public, so that evolution and its supposed accessories of Natural Selection, Struggle for Existence, and Survival of the Fittest, have become popular catch-words supposed to be sufficient to explain all the mysteries of nature and even of human progress.

More especially have these ideas obtained currency in the domain of life and organization, which at first sight seemed to present the greatest difficulties, as exhibiting—to use an expression of Louis Agassiz—“a wealth and intricacy of the higher mental manifestations, and none of the simplicity of purely mechanical laws.”<sup>1</sup> Life indeed so manifestly overrides, controls, and dominates the merely mechanical and chemical forces, that it seems to afford an illustration of higher power in some respects intermediate between the merely mechanical and the spiritual spheres. Strange to say, however, biologists, professedly students of life, have been among the first to give their adhesion to a merely mechanical theory of this great and mysterious power, and thus zoologists and botanists, whose sciences are based on the stability of species, have freely given this up in favour of a perpetual flux of specific characters, which, if it actually existed in nature as supposed by Darwin, would have rendered any scientific classification

<sup>1</sup> Letter to the Duke of Argyll.

of organized beings, whether recent or fossil, impossible.<sup>1</sup> Thus the biological sciences may be said to exist in spite of principles held by many of their cultivators, which are rationally subversive of the facts on which those sciences rest. In the meantime the theory of evolution itself, as is the nature of such phantasms of the human mind, is undergoing rapid changes, and its followers are resolving themselves into antagonistic sects, while the unthinking multitude is using it in many ways not contemplated by its authors. To not a few students of the subject, all this portends a speedy dissolution of this philosophy, more especially in its agnostic and Darwinian form. This much at least is certain, that whatever may ultimately remain of the work of Darwin and his followers, it cannot continue to dominate the world of science as a system of merely mechanical evolution; and that the time has arrived when those who have been watching its origin, or revival, and progress, from its commencement in our own time, may endeavour to take stock of its present results, and to inquire as to how many of them are likely to be of permanent value, and how many are to be cast out on the great rubbish-heap of discarded philosophical notions. An opportunity to do this with some advantage, at least in so far as British science is concerned, is afforded by the discussion which has arisen from the reference made to the subject by Lord Salisbury in his address as President of the British Association, at its Oxford meeting in 1894, and in which discussion leading men of science, both in England and in Germany, have taken part. The Biblical and theological implications of the question, though important and even urgent, may be reserved till we have briefly noted the positions of the scientific combatants; carrying with us, however, the thought that we are in

<sup>1</sup> Romanes, the ablest of Darwin's followers, has admitted this in his posthumous work, *Thoughts on Religion*.

presence of doctrines whose tendency is to make nature give an entirely different account of its own interactions, and its relations to God and man, from that which has been generally accepted by the better and wiser minds in every age; and that it has been publicly maintained that in the near future the progress of science, in union with the philosophy of evolution, will leave "little but cloud-land" for the domain of its "rival" religion.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. LORD SALISBURY ON DARWINISM.<sup>2</sup>

Salisbury introduces his reference to the Darwinian evolution with the remark, intended perhaps to mollify some fanatical Darwinians, that "the most conspicuous event in the scientific annals of the last half century" has been the publication of *The Origin of Species* in 1859. In this connection he takes the opportunity to refer to the change which this memorable work is supposed to have effected in the methods of research, which it has tended to make historical rather than merely statistical. In this, however, he fails to allow sufficient credit to the profound historical views of living beings which have resulted from the study of fossils by such great minds as those of Cuvier, Owen, Barrande, and Agassiz; and, on the other hand, to deprecate sufficiently the tendency which Darwinism has produced among the younger generation of working naturalists and popular writers on nature to occupy themselves with imaginary lines of development and loose reasonings as to possible phylogenies rather than with the careful investigation of facts, and to regard nature as a sort of mechanical 'perpetual motion machine, without plan or purpose, rather than as a cosmos of order, beauty, and fine correlation of parts; thereby rendering it less

<sup>1</sup> Huxley, *Nature*, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> Address as President of the British Association at the meeting at Oxford 1894.

attractive and less congenial to our higher thoughts and sentiments.

He also broadly asserts that Darwin "has as a matter of fact disposed of the doctrine of the immutability of species" of animals and plants. No claim could be more unfounded than this. So far as popular knowledge is concerned, there is the best evidence that cattle-breeders knew the variability of the higher animals, and applied it successfully in producing races capable of permanent continuance, under proper care, at least 2,000 years before the Christian era, and probably earlier.<sup>1</sup> The *stability* or fixity of species, it is true, is a natural fact; but this does not imply immutability, which probably no naturalist has ever maintained, and which we cannot absolutely affirm of anything in nature. Stability, within the limits of our observation, is, however, proved by experience, and is essential to any scientific study of organized nature. The evidence in favour of it has indeed been much strengthened, and its possible range in time immensely extended, by the facts disclosed in modern times in the study of palæontology. There are marine animals and land plants still living which have continued as identical species for enormous periods of time antecedent to man. Mollusks of the Eocene and Miocene Tertiary, for example, of the Atlantic coast of America, and of the Paris Basin in Europe, still live in the neighbouring waters. The late Dr. Newberry found the common sensitive fern of North America (*Onoclea sensibilis*) in beds of the Fort Union Group, now known to belong to the dawn of the Tertiary, and another fern (*Davallia tenuifolia*),<sup>2</sup> not now occurring in America, but living in the mountains of Asia, has been found in

<sup>1</sup> Genesis xxx. 84 *et seq.* Animals in tomb of Ti at Sukkarah and other Egyptian tombs of early dynasties.

<sup>2</sup> Newberry, *Later Extinct Floras of America*; Dawson, *Report on the Geology of the Forty-ninth Parallel*.

the same beds. Humble creatures of the group of Protozoa have been traced much farther back. Such examples show, as I have elsewhere contended, that frail and short-lived animals and plants may, by virtue of their unchanged and continuous reproduction, be more durable as species than the most refractory rocks or the greatest mountains, or the forms and dimensions of the continents and seas in which they have lived. It is true that species of the lower animals and of plants are more lasting than those of the more highly organized animals; but even these in many cases greatly antedate the origin of man, and we can show that, while retaining their specific characters, they can, under changed conditions, undergo considerable variations, especially in external and non-essential features. In some cases we can show that even temporary varietal forms, appearing and disappearing in consequence of physical changes affecting the species, may be of considerable continuance, and yet recur under suitable conditions to the primitive type. All this is matter not of speculation but of fact, and has greatly tended to enhance our ideas of the fixity and historical value of species in geological time, as well as in the short space measured by our investigation of contemporary forms.

To this great natural and well-known fact of the fixity of species with temporary variations under certain limitations, Darwin added the further hypothesis that variation may, under certain natural conditions, and without any intelligent purpose or agency, go so far as to transmute one species into another. Unfortunately, however, this doctrine remains at this moment as destitute of proof as before the publication of the *Origin of Species*, and, when properly understood, the facts as to domesticated animals cited by Darwin himself show its improbability, if not impossibility, yet we are required by Darwinian evolution to accept this supposition as the means of accounting for the vast multi-

tudes of species of animals and plants and their succession in the geological history of the earth.

But after making these somewhat unnecessary admissions as a sop to the more zealous evolutionists, Lord Salisbury turns to deal with the alleged cause of the mutation of species as held by Darwin, namely, Natural Selection, and more especially with the attempt by Dr. Weismann, an eminent German naturalist, to vindicate this supposed agency in lectures delivered in Oxford in the previous year. Weismann, who poses as a "pure Darwinian," though he is, perhaps, more noted for his much-disputed conclusions as to the non-inheritance of acquired characters, believes implicitly in Natural Selection as held by Darwin, but admits that its agency has not been proved, and probably cannot be established by the evidence of facts. He believes, however, that if it be rejected on this ground, evolution will have no alternative but that of giving some countenance to the, in his view, altogether inadmissible "principle of design." Salisbury naturally remarks that such an avowal indicates a great change of opinion from the time, not far distant, when the doctrine of design in nature seemed to be held by all reasonable men. He might have added that it must still be held by all such men, although some German specialists may not be amenable to this ordinary reason. We shall see evidence of this in Weismann's rejoinder. In the meantime it is only necessary to remark that the German biologist accepts natural selection as the cause of the origin of species, because it enables him to dispense with a living and intelligent First Cause, or, in other words, to hang up his science in vacancy, or to dream that it so hangs, without any support for its first link. It is instructive to notice here that, as we shall see in the sequel, Spencer and Huxley, the greatest English authorities on Evolution, decline to follow Weismann in

this great act of unreasoning faith, and regard the figment of Natural Selection as incapable of taking the place assigned to it by Darwin, while still holding "organic evolution" as in some way explaining the origin of living things without any intelligent plan or creative power.

Salisbury also expresses his inability to summon sufficient faith to accept Natural Selection as propounded by Weismann, though in opposition to its efficacy he dwells chiefly on the alleged slowness of its operation, which obliges its advocates to claim so great an extension of time that they have to place the beginning of life at a period so early that, reasoning from physical data as given by Lord Kelvin and others, we cannot suppose the earth to have been in a state in which organic bodies could exist upon its surface.<sup>1</sup> He then concludes his review of Weismann's advocacy of the Darwinian principle of Natural Selection with the following weighty words:—

"I quite accept the Professor's dictum that if natural selection is rejected we have no resource but to fall back on the mediate or immediate agency of a principle of design. In Oxford, at least, he will not find that argument is conclusive, nor, I believe, among scientific men in this country generally, however imposing the names of some whom he may claim for that belief. I would rather lean to the conviction that the multiplying difficulties of the mechanical theory are weakening the influence it once had acquired. I prefer to shelter myself in this matter behind the judgment of the greatest living master of natural science among us, Lord Kelvin, and to quote as my own concluding words the striking language with which he closed his address from this chair more than twenty years ago: 'I have always felt,' he said, 'that the hypothesis of natural selection does not contain the

<sup>1</sup> We have not space to discuss here this point; but it would seem that Spencer and Huxley do not so strongly as Darwin insist on excessively long time, and Poulton in his British Association Address (1896) is content to assume pre-geologic ages, altogether unknown to us, for the origin of life, but which no geologist can accept as probable or even possible. Thus evolution, in the attempt to escape from the observed fixity of species, comes into conflict with physical science on the one hand and geological science on the other. This may be designated as the dilemma of Darwinism, of which some of its advocates select one horn and some the other.

true theory of evolution, if evolution there has been in biology. . . . I feel profoundly convinced that the argument of design has been greatly too much lost sight of in recent zoological speculations. Overpoweringly strong proofs of intelligent and benevolent design lie around us, and if ever perplexities, whether metaphysical or scientific, turn us away from them for a time, they come back upon us with irresistible force, showing to us through nature the influence of a free will, and teaching us that all living things depend on one everlasting Creator and Ruler.' ”

### 3. WEISMANN'S REPLY TO SALISBURY.

Weismann replies to Salisbury in the *Contemporary Review* for November, 1894. He endeavours to extenuate his somewhat unguarded statement respecting Natural Selection by the explanation that it refers to the fact that the action of Natural Selection is necessarily rather a matter of inference than of observation. He adduces, however, three agencies or factors by which, according to him, it manifests itself: viz., (1) Variability; (2) Heredity; (3) Struggle for Existence. Practically, therefore, these become the observed causes of evolution, or at least its outward manifestations. We have, therefore, to question them as to their capacity to produce new species. Variation is a well-known phenomenon, especially in the case of domesticated animals, and of some variable species which, so to speak, domesticate themselves, or are naturally domesticated, by being subjected accidentally or by choice to special external conditions. These are species of the higher and more intelligent animals. Other animals vary apparently because of their great simplicity of structure and the little differentiation or specialization of their tissues and organs. Thus among animals the most variable species are at the top and bottom of the scale. Still, in all ordinary cases, the variability refers chiefly to external and non-essential features, and unless the variety is perpetuated by isolation and care, and, if at all extreme,

by occasional crossing with normal individuals, it is liable to die out or to return into the ordinary type. There is probably no good case known where it has overstepped the limits of the essential characters of the species. In the case of extinct or fossil animals or plants, it may be supposed to have done so, but this, of course, cannot be proved by actual facts. If, therefore, nature be personified as a breeder, producing varieties, and then selecting the best, it cannot be affirmed that it is more successful than human breeders who can produce races capable, by careful management, of being perpetuated for several generations, but cannot make new species. This, of course, is not invalidated by the subjective condition that naturalists, especially those who are desirous to multiply new species, may mistake mere varietal forms for the specific types. What has been said of animals will of course apply to plants, except in so far as the intelligence and volition of the animal contribute either to the making or unmaking of varieties.

Heredity is another great and important fact in nature, though a very mysterious one. But independently of the doubt that Weismann himself has cast on the transmission of acquired characters, which Darwin apparently did not question, heredity certainly tells in favour of fixity, for it is the majority that transmit the ordinary characters to their progeny, while a variant minority labours under the double disadvantage of a less balanced development of parts and liability to reversion by intermixture, unless when artificially isolated or kept separate by some rare and exceptional natural accident.

Struggle for existence is not the ordinary law of nature, and modern experience as well as geological facts show that it tends not to elevation but to degradation or to extinction. No breeder would attempt to improve his stock by exposing it to cold or starvation, and in the

succession of geological formations we find that facility for expansion rather than struggle has been the condition (I do not say the cause) of the introduction of new species.

When the Natural Selection of Darwin is thus broken up into three factors, its validity is further placed in doubt by the question as to the possibility of these three independent agencies, without intelligent guidance, co-operating in one definite direction of improvement, and securing for the best modifications the necessary conditions of isolation and continuous favourable environment. We seem to require here that very principle of design which Weismann and other adherents of the Darwinian evolution so distinctly repudiate.

It is really this blunt revelation of Weismann's mental position as distinguished from the more reticent confessions of English evolutionists, who, though possibly of the same opinion, are less frank in its avowal, that gives the chief interest to his adherence to Natural Selection and the reason assigned for it. He expresses his own view as follows: "The scientific man may not assume a designing power. . . . His concern is with the mechanism of the universe." He adds: "It is inconceivable that a Creator should designedly interfere in the course of nature—inconceivable that He should, so to speak, intervene to supplement the forces of nature, just where they break down. As if, on the principle of theism, God is not merely over but in His works, or as if there could be any "forces of nature," or "course of nature," except as ordained of God and regulated by His laws. He speaks, it is true, of the possible evidence of a "power behind nature," but it is evident that this is merely an inanimate prime mover, an expansive steam-power within the boiler, and not an all-wise Creator.

#### 4. HUXLEY AND ZITTEL ON THE QUESTIONS AT ISSUE.

The late Dr. Huxley, the foremost English exponent of Darwinism, was present at the Oxford meeting, and took the opportunity, in seconding the usual vote of thanks to the President, to parry the force of the anti-evolutionary argument in the address by congratulating the speaker on the admissions he had made as to the beneficial influence of Darwin's great work; but he evidently felt that damage had been done, for in the following autumn, in a brief article on the progress of evolution, on occasion of the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the scientific journal *Nature*, he takes occasion to define his own position, as having on the evidence of fossil animals, even before the appearance of Darwin's great work, indicated the probability of the introduction of new species by descent with modification; and proceeds to argue that this kind of proof remains valid even if the doctrine of Natural Selection should be abandoned, or should have to occupy a subordinate place. In support of this he appeals to the testimony of Zittel, who says in his great work on animal palæontology:—

“For the naturalist evolution (the theory of descent) offers the only natural solution of the problem of the development and succession of organic beings, but as to the causes which bring about the modification of species, and especially the change (continuously) in a given direction, opinions are yet greatly divided. That the principle of natural selection discovered by Darwin leaves many phenomena unexplained is no longer denied by even the warmest followers of Darwin.”

This statement of Zittel, endorsed by Huxley, may be taken as authoritative on the behalf of evolution in geological time as held by Darwinians, though some pure or ultra-Darwinians, like Weismann and Wallace, continue to attribute the whole to Natural Selection, while others,

like Cope, Hyatt, Romanes, and Bateman, doubt the reality of Natural Selection, or its sufficiency to originate species, and seek for other and very different causes of change, which are, however, so far as known, equally unreal or ineffective. When Zittel says that descent with modification is the "only natural solution" of the problem, we have a right to inquire in what sense he uses the word "natural." Ordinary generation is the only natural mode in which the species can be continued at all, whether with or without modification; and when he assumes that this is the only way in which new species can arise, he is taking for granted that which he should be called on to prove, namely, that varietal modifications which may arise in the course of descent are pushed so far as to transgress the limits of the specific characters. The word natural, therefore, referring to ordinary generation, by his own observation, can apply only to that which the writer knows or can receive on credible testimony; and if he can point to no case in which a new species has been observed to arise in this way, he really excludes all natural cause for the origin of species except as a mere conjecture or supposition. Still, like Weismann with Natural Selection, he must accept this unwarranted supposition or have recourse to something which he would probably regard as "supernatural," that is, beyond the scope of his present knowledge of nature, and therefore inadmissible, simply because unknown in his experience.

It is instructive to note here that Zittel, in discussing this question before the International Congress of Geologists in 1896, admits certain remarkable defects in the supposed "natural" mode of introducing new species by descent as held by him. While he thinks that in the case of some species of the higher animals, as for example in the horse and its allies, we have the appearance of a continuous succession of new species, he does not pretend that

the continuity can be absolutely proved, and he admits that no links can be found to connect distinct classes, as the Mammals, Birds, Reptiles, and Amphibians, with each other. Intermediate forms seeming to connect these are found only in small and *diminishing* numbers as knowledge advances. Nor is the analogy perfect of the succession of animals in geological time with the stages of the development of the individual from the ovum to maturity. Thus, as I have pointed out in my work, *Relics of Primeval Life*, the evidence of transition from one group to another breaks down just where it is most desirable that it should be perfect, and room is left for the multitude of hypothetical phylogenies, subjective rather than objective in their character, with which enthusiastic evolutionists entertain us in speculating on the evolution of the animal kingdom, and which merely serve to show how each individual speculator would have carried on the development had it been left to him, but prove nothing as to how it actually proceeded, or could proceed, spontaneously, and with no plan whatever.

J. W. DAWSON.

(To be continued.)

## THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD.

### I.

It is one of the chief glories of the Christian Gospel that it has revealed God as the Father; and the revelation is so wonderful that we ought to take some trouble to learn how the revelation was made and what it contains. We ought not to be satisfied with hasty thoughts about it. Nor ought we, having discovered that Christ has taught us to call God "Our Father," to proceed at once to construct out of our own head a theory of the mutual relations between man and God which this title implies. Here are the Four

Gospels: they contain all that we can know about the earthly Life and Teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ through whom God's Fatherhood was revealed to our race; they are very short tracts; during the next fortnight or three weeks most of us could read them through five or six times, and by reading them we can learn for ourselves how God's Fatherhood was made known to men and what our Lord meant by it. After reading the Gospels with the definite purpose of discovering the truth on this subject, it would be well to read the Epistles in order to learn what the apostles have said about it.

## I.

1. I have said that it is one of the chief glories of the Christian Gospel that it has revealed God as the Father. But this does not mean that the mere title of Father had never been attributed to God before Christ came, or that men had never thought of themselves as being in some sense God's children. The ancient Greeks called Zeus the Father of gods and men: he was so called because he was supposed to exercise the authority of a father, both among the gods on Olympus and among men on earth. But neither men nor gods were supposed to receive their life from him. He himself was descended from more ancient Powers. He had a sister whom he married, and brothers with whom he shared the sovereignty of the world. He was the supreme ruler; therefore he was the father.

Some of the ancient philosophers and philosophic poets had another and more impressive conception of the Divine Fatherhood. You remember the lofty words of Paul at Athens: "In Him"—that is in God—"we live, and move, and have our being; as certain even of your own poets have said, *For we are also His offspring*. Being then the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and device of

man.”<sup>1</sup> The quotation is from a curious poem by Aratus, a native of Cilicia, Paul’s own province, perhaps, of Tarsus, Paul’s own city, who lived about 300 years before Christ. The poem is a rendering into verse of an astronomical treatise by a still more ancient author. It opens with an invocation to Zeus :—

“ From Zeus begin : and never let us leave  
His name unloved. With Him, with Zeus, are filled  
All paths we tread and all the marts of men ;  
Filled, too, the sea and every creek and bay :  
And all, in all things, need we help of Zeus ;  
For we, too, are His offspring.”

Aratus seems to have held the philosophical doctrine that God is the soul of the world and that He lives in all things ; He lives in us ; we live in the power of His life ; or, rather, our life is one with His as the waves are one with the sea.

Another ancient poet, Cleanthes, who has a line almost identical with that of Aratus, which Paul quotes, appears to call men the offspring of Zeus because men have a certain intellectual kinship with the gods, as shown by the gift of rational speech.

In the hearts of heathen men there often moved a mysterious instinct which claimed kinship to a life higher than their own ; and this instinct found expression in such words as those which Paul quoted at Athens. But their relationship to this diviner life was a speculation, a beautiful fancy. It was not a force sustaining righteousness and giving consolation and peace in sorrow. At best it was a belief that men are sharers in the life which is the life of the world ; it was not a faith in a living, righteous, merciful God who has the love of a Father for the human race.

2. Among the Jewish people, as we might have expected, there was a nearer approach to the great Christian discovery. The Jewish nation, *as a nation*, is sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Acts xvii. 28, 29.

called God's son. Moses is represented as saying to Pharaoh : "Thus saith the Lord, Israel is My son, My first-born : and I have said unto thee, Let My son go that he may serve Me ; and thou hast refused to let him go : behold I will slay thy son, thy firstborn."<sup>1</sup> Again, Moses, addressing the people, says : "Do ye thus requite the Lord, O foolish people and unwise? Is not He thy Father that hath bought thee? He hath made thee and established thee."<sup>2</sup> Isaiah, speaking in the name of the nation, says to God, "Thou art our Father ; we are the clay, and Thou our potter : and we all are the work of Thy hand."<sup>3</sup> There are a few other passages of the same kind.<sup>4</sup> In all these passages, to quote the words of Professor Cheyne, the word "Father" is used "not in the wide, spiritual sense of the New Testament, but as the Founder and Preserver of the Israelitish nation which henceforth (carrying out primitive legal conceptions) is under the *patria potestas*. This is the constant meaning of the title "Father" as applied to Jehovah. The first example of the individualizing use of the term is in Sirach xxiii. 1 . . . "O Lord, Father and God of my life."<sup>5</sup> Sirach, commonly known as Ecclesiasticus, is one of the books included in the Apocrypha, and is supposed to have been written two or three hundred years before Christ.

The conception of God as the Father of the Jewish nation—as a nation—because it owed its existence to His power, and He had been its Ruler and Protector, had disciplined it, blessed it, preserved it, contains some of the rudiments of the Christian idea of the Divine Fatherhood, but is very remote from it. There are faint premonitions in the Old Testament of the great revelation contained in

<sup>1</sup> Exod. iv. 23.<sup>2</sup> Dent. xxxii. 6.<sup>3</sup> Isa. lxiv. 8.<sup>4</sup> E.g. Dent. xxxii. 18, 19 ; Isa. lxiii. 16 ; Hosea xi. 1 ; Mal. i. 6 ; ii. 10.<sup>5</sup> Cheyne : *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, Note on chap. lxiii. 16.

the New ; there is a grey twilight preceding the dawn ; but the coming of Christ is like a tropical sunrise,—the earth and heavens are flooded with a sudden glory.

## II.

To give a complete account of the way in which our Lord revealed God as the Father, and of what the revelation contains, would require an exhaustive statement of all that Christ said and did and suffered, and of all the contents of His teaching. It would be necessary to tell the whole story of our Lord's Incarnation, His life, death, resurrection, and ascension into Heaven : it would require a full account of all the doctrines of the Christian faith, of its wonderful promises, of its infinite hopes, of its characteristic morality, of its characteristic worship, of the varied forms of service which our Lord has destined His disciples to render to God and to mankind. Christ came to reveal God ; He came to reveal God as the Father : the revelation of the Divine Fatherhood is not, therefore, a single and separable element of the revelation, but the substance of the whole. All that I can do is to indicate briefly two or three lines of thought along which we may travel towards the understanding of this great subject.

1. I will remind you, first of all, of the contrast between the names by which God is commonly spoken of by Moses, by the prophets, and by the psalmists, and the one name by which He is most commonly spoken of by our Lord. The names of God in the Old Testament denote that He is a God of great power—a God whose power is sometimes exerted to break down all resistance—a God whose power creates fear :<sup>1</sup> they denote the Eternity of God, who in all the successive manifestations of Himself remains true to His own unchanging thought and life ;<sup>2</sup> they represent

<sup>1</sup> *El, Eloah, Elohim*, translated "God," and *El Shaddai*, translated "God Almighty."

<sup>2</sup> *Jehovah*, usually translated "the Lord."

Him as the Holy One, separated by the eternal law of His being from all impurity and imperfection, and as the Lord of the Hosts of Heaven. These are the meanings of the principal names of God in the Old Testament. In the four Gospels they give place to the name "Father." That is a wonderful change.

We are not, however, to suppose that the names by which God had been known to Jewish patriarchs, psalmists, and prophets were regarded by our Lord as recording false representations of the Divine nature and glory, or representations so inadequate that they might be forgotten now that He had revealed the Father. He did not come to destroy the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil them. The God from whom Christ came was the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; He was the mighty God, the Eternal God, the God who had manifested Himself in wonderful ways and through many centuries to the Jewish race. The heresy which sprang up in the Church of the second century, and which maintained that the Creator of the world and the God of the Jews was not the Supreme God whom Christ revealed, but an inferior Power from whom Christ came to deliver us, is in violent contradiction to the teaching both of our Lord Himself and of His apostles. The knowledge of God which sustained the life and hope of Jewish saints was true as far as it went; Christ came to enrich and to complete it. God was still to be known under the names which for many generations had filled the hearts of good men with awe, with faith, with joy, with love; but He was also to be known under a new name—or a name which, if it had sometimes been attributed to Him before, was now to be charged with a new and more glorious meaning. We are to find in God all that the saints of earlier times had found in Him—and more. Christ revealed God as the Father.

2. But what does the title mean? Does it mean any-

thing more than was meant when Jupiter was called the father of gods and men, or anything more than was meant when God was called the Father of the Jewish nation? Our Lord did not merely teach men to call God Father; He revealed what God's Fatherhood means. It sometimes seems to be forgotten that, although very much has been said when we have called God "Father," very much remains unsaid. We know what we mean when we say that a man is the father of his child; but it is obvious that between the relations of a human father to his child and God's relations to us there are very grave differences. The human relationship may be the symbol of the Divine, but the two relationships are not identical. In what respects are the two relationships analogous? In what respects are they unlike?

Other questions arise. The relations between father and child have varied in different countries and in different ages. It was inevitable that, under certain elementary conditions of civilization, the father should have the power of life and death over his child; but the power survived among some races long after the original conditions which made it necessary had passed away. It seemed, I suppose, to be implied in the very conception of fatherhood. How much of truth was there in that conception? how much of error? In our own country and within our own times that conception has been passing through a very perceptible change. The State has assumed a power of interference between father and child which at first provoked general resentment as being destructive of the true and ideal relations between them; it has denied the right of a father to use the labour of his child during the years in which it ought to be receiving education; it is limiting a father's right to punish his child; and, on the other hand, it discharges duties to the child which formerly, if discharged at all, had to be discharged by the parent. Where are we to find that

conception of human fatherhood to which the Divine Fatherhood corresponds? In the fatherhood of modern times with its limited powers? Or in the fatherhood of ancient times with an authority that was almost unlimited? In the traditional fatherhood of a century ago with the reverence and respect which are exacted from children? Or in the fatherhood of our own times which claims affection rather than reverence? Malachi, speaking in the name of God, asks, "If then I be a Father, where is mine *honour*?"

When Christ speaks of God as the Father, does He claim for Him honour or trust and love? And if He claims all three, is it ever necessary to insist that the honour should not be forgotten in the love? Must the love be of a kind in which honour has a large place?

The revelation was largely made in His personal character and in His personal relations to God. When we consider our Lord's transcendent perfection, it becomes apparent that though He is really Man He stands apart from the race, apart and alone. He is here in this visible world, but He belongs to a diviner order. He is akin to ourselves; He is also akin to God. He shares the life of God as a son shares the life of his father. The glories of God's eternal perfections shine through Him.

When we consider, further, His trust and joy in God, His reverence for God's greatness, His obedience to God's authority, we discover that His relations to God are those of an ideal son to an ideal father. A man cannot reveal his fatherhood except in his relations to a child. Under other conditions we may know him as a master, a servant, a husband, a brother, or a friend, but until we see him with his children we cannot know what he is as a father. And it is by the actual relations which existed between God and our Lord Jesus Christ that we discover, on the one hand, the full glory of the Divine Fatherhood as, on the other, we discover the full glory of Divine Sonship. The Father had

an infinite love for Christ and an infinite joy in Him; Christ knew it, and this knowledge gave Him peace through all His agitations and sorrows. There was perfect freedom of intercourse between Christ and the Father, and perfect mutual confidence: "All things," He said, "have been delivered unto Me of My Father: and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal Him."<sup>1</sup> "The Father loveth the Son and sheweth Him all things that Himself doeth."<sup>2</sup> The Father was always near Him; and it was the supreme and mysterious agony of His last sufferings that for a brief but awful time His consciousness of His Father's presence was lost. The ultimate root and explanation of Our Lord's Sonship is found in the glory which He had with the Father before the foundation of the world. When He became flesh this eternal relationship to God was not lost: it was revealed under human conditions and limitations—but it was revealed. Men are sons of God by sharing His Sonship: His Sonship is, therefore, the transcendent ideal of ours.

### III.

1. The Lord Jesus Christ, as I have said, stands apart from the race, apart even from His disciples. God was His Father in a sense in which he was not theirs. Speaking to Mary Magdalene after His resurrection, He said: "I ascend unto My Father and your Father, and My God and your God":<sup>3</sup> and this distinction and contrast is maintained in all His intercourse even with those whom He loved best. Paul, writing to the Christian people of Rome, of Corinth, of Ephesus, of Colosse, of Philippi, and of Thessalonica, might say, "Grace be to you and peace from God *our*

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xi. 27.

<sup>2</sup> John v. 20.

<sup>3</sup> John xx. 17.

*Father*";<sup>1</sup> but in addressing His disciples it was our Lord's habit to speak of "My Father" or of "your Father"; never once did He place Himself by their side by speaking of God as "*Our Father*."

But God "foreordained us unto adoption as sons through Jesus Christ unto Himself, according to the good pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace":<sup>2</sup> and one of the principal objects of our Lord's ministry was to assure His disciples that through Him—the Eternal Son of the Eternal—God was their Father, and to make clear to them the greatness, the blessedness and the security of being God's children.

"Your Father," "your Heavenly Father," "your Father in Heaven"—it was thus that He constantly spoke to His disciples of God. Nor was it only by such words as these, great as their power must have been over the heart and imagination of those who heard them for the first time, that He made God's Fatherhood known to them. Section after section of the Sermon on the Mount was intended to enable them to apprehend it. In the evil times which were coming, it was certain that they would have to endure great sufferings for His sake; but they were not to be "anxious" about what they should eat, or what they should drink, or wherewithal they should be clothed, "for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. Seek ye first His kingdom, and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you."<sup>3</sup> They were to live the life of children; they were to be free from restless care; they were to trust perfectly in God's Fatherly love. In the whole conduct of life they were to remember this wonderful relationship between God and themselves. When they gave alms, when they prayed, when they fasted,

<sup>1</sup> Rom. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 8; 2 Cor. i. 2; Eph. i. 2; Col. i. 2; Phil. i. 2; 2 Thess. i. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Eph. i. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. vi. 32, 33.

there was to be no display of their devoutness and their generosity in order to win the good opinion of men; they were to give alms and to pray and to fast in secret; and their Father who "seeth in secret" will recompense them.<sup>1</sup> They are to love their enemies and to pray for their persecutors—why? "That ye may be sons of your Father who is in Heaven; for He maketh His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust."<sup>2</sup> God was their Father; but to be really His sons they must share the very life of God, and sharing His life they would reflect the glory of His perfection. They were to pray to God for whatever they needed, and were to feel sure that He would hear them; for "if ye being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your Father who is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him?"<sup>3</sup> Christ assured them that because they loved Him and believed that He "came forth from the Father," the Father Himself loved them;<sup>4</sup> they were in God's keeping and would never perish;<sup>5</sup> their eternal home was to be in the house of His Father,<sup>6</sup> and there they were to behold and to share His glory.<sup>7</sup>

This high relationship between God and those who received Christ was realized in the power of that great gift of life which holds so large a place in our Lord's discourses. He had come, He said, "that men may have life, and may have it more abundantly."<sup>8</sup> He describes the gift in various terms. It is the "living water," a "well of water springing up unto eternal life."<sup>9</sup> It is "the Bread of life"; "the living Bread which came down out of Heaven; if any man eat of this Bread he shall live for ever."<sup>10</sup> To Nicodemus He said, that "except a man be born anew

<sup>1</sup> Matt. vi. 1-18.<sup>4</sup> John xvi. 27.<sup>7</sup> John xiv. 21, 23.<sup>10</sup> John vi. 35, 51.<sup>2</sup> Matt. v. 44, 45.<sup>5</sup> John x. 28.<sup>8</sup> John x. 10.<sup>3</sup> Matt. vii. 11.<sup>6</sup> John xiv. 2, 3.<sup>9</sup> John iv. 10, 14.

he cannot see the kingdom of God";<sup>1</sup> a new life—a life which does not come to a man by his natural birth—is necessary if a man is actually to possess the perfection and blessedness of the Divine kingdom. It is by a union with Himself as real and as intimate as that between the Vine and the branches, a union by which the life becomes one, that we are to achieve righteousness;<sup>2</sup> and only then can we fulfil His precept and be "perfect" as our heavenly Father "is perfect."<sup>3</sup>

"Your Father," "your Father in Heaven," "your Heavenly Father"—this, I repeat, was how the Lord Jesus Christ was in the habit of speaking of God to His disciples; and both His precepts and His promises vividly illustrate the reality of God's Fatherhood.

#### IV.

This, I say, was how He was in the habit of speaking of God to His disciples, not to other men. In the Sermon on the Mount, as we have already seen, these phrases occur again and again. I must quote once more some of the passages that I have quoted already. "Behold the birds of the heaven, that they sow not, neither do they reap nor gather into barns; and your heavenly Father feedeth them. . . . Be not therefore anxious, saying, What shall we eat? or, what shall we drink? or, wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek; for *your heavenly Father* knoweth that ye have need of all these things. . . . If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall *your Father* who is in heaven give good things to them that ask Him?"<sup>4</sup> All these great words were addressed to those who believed in Him. The discourse is introduced by the words: "And seeing the multitudes, He went up

<sup>1</sup> John iii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> John xv. 1-7.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. v. 48.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. vi. 26, 31, 32; vii. 11.

into the mountain : and when He had sat down, His disciples came unto Him : and He opened His mouth and taught them."<sup>1</sup> The discourse was delivered in the presence and in the hearing of the "multitude," but He was speaking to His disciples from first to last; to those to whom He could say, "Ye are the salt of the earth . . . ye are the light of the world."<sup>2</sup>

It was to His disciples, whom He was sending forth "as sheep among wolves," and who for His sake were to be brought before "governors and kings," that He said, "When they deliver you up, be not anxious how or what ye shall speak. . . . For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of *your Father* that speaketh in you."<sup>3</sup> It was to His disciples, who as yet were but a "little flock," that He said, "Fear not . . . for it is *your Father's* good pleasure to give you the kingdom."<sup>4</sup> It was after His disciples had asked Him, "Who then is greatest in the kingdom of Heaven?" and He had rebuked them by setting a little child before them, and saying, "Verily I say unto you, Except ye turn, and become as little children, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven," that He added "it is not the will of *your Father* who is in Heaven that one of these little ones should perish."<sup>5</sup>

Look at the other passages in which our Lord uses any of these phrases, and you will find that in every instance He is speaking, not to a mixed multitude of men, but to His disciples. There is only a single case in which there can be even a momentary doubt. In Matthew xxiii. 1 we read: "Then spake Jesus to the multitudes, and to His disciples, saying"—and then follows a discourse in the early part of which there is a warning against religious ambition. "Be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your Teacher, and all ye are brethren. And call no man your

<sup>1</sup> Matt. v. 1, 2.<sup>2</sup> Matt. v. 13, 14.<sup>3</sup> Matt. x. 19, 20.<sup>4</sup> Luke xii. 32.<sup>5</sup> Matt. xviii. 14.

father on the earth ; for one is your Father, who is in heaven." <sup>1</sup> But it is clear that the passage in which these words occur was addressed to His disciples as distinguished from the rest of those who could hear Him. The greater part of the discourse was a vehement denunciation of the Pharisees. I repeat that it was in the discourses addressed to His disciples, and in these discourses alone, that our Lord used the phrases "your Father," "your Father in heaven," and "your heavenly Father," in order to describe God. In the discourses in the synagogues and by the seaside and wherever else He was speaking to the multitude, not specially to his disciples, there is not a single instance in which any one of these phrases is used. There is this difference between the manner in which He spoke of God to those who had believed in Him and the manner in which He spoke of Him to others is not occasional ; it is habitual ; it is constant.

R. W. DALE.

### THE SOUL'S EMANCIPATION.

"Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?"—*Rom. vii. 24.*

"The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath set me free from the law of sin and death."—*Rom. viii. 2.*

Who is the "wretched man" of the seventh chapter of the Romans? Is he a man of God or a mere worldling? Is he still in the death of nature, or has he known that great change, rightly called Conversion, when the world of the senses becomes a secondary thing, while the higher world takes the higher place, and God dethrones the man himself in His affections?

As long as we suppose that any such distinction, any essential difference between one man and another, is the main point in the discussion, we shall find ourselves hopelessly perplexed and entangled. In marked contrast with

<sup>1</sup> *Matt. xxiii. 8, 9.*

his manner hitherto, the Apostle writes about himself, and in the first person, to shut the door against this notion. Never would he have called himself that unconverted person whom, on this supposition, he describes. On the contrary, it is in this very epistle that he writes, "we that are strong . . . I have therefore my glorying in Christ Jesus in things pertaining to God."

It is impossible to suppose that St. Paul would use the phrases, "I myself" . . . "I am carnal" . . . "I find a law in my members," if he had long before passed away for ever from the only condition in which the experience he describes could be his own.

And yet it is equally impossible to suppose that we here catch a glimpse of the lurid interior of his soul, while he was writing about peace and joy and a life hid with Christ in God. It is incredible, on one hand, that he should say of an unregenerate man, "it is not I that sin"; and yet it is just as incredible that he should represent a believer as such, looking about in perplexity for some one to deliver him.

We must seek elsewhere than in the contrast between Christian and worldling for the clue to this remarkable passage. And it is found when we discover that he is thinking of neither in opposition to the other, but of man, any man at any stage of his experience, contemplated apart from divine grace and the steady support of the Spirit. It is surely possible to think of the best man for a moment thus. Scientifically and in the abstract, St. Paul found it easy to take himself, their evangelist and leader, for the typical example of what even a good man, standing alone, must endure. Even he might wish well, might hate himself for failing, and yet he would not succeed. "I myself, I see good, but cannot attain it; I hate evil, but it haunts me, it is 'present with me'; sin overpowers my convictions and aspirations, and creates so

strange a dualism within me that the good which I would I do not, and it is not I who do the evil."

Thus torn asunder, he cries out, "O wretched man! who shall deliver me?" but, in the act of confessing the misery of this condition, he, being in experience an Apostle, declares his emancipation from it, and exclaims, "I thank God [for deliverance] through Jesus Christ."

This reading of the passage suits perfectly the whole argument of the Epistle hitherto.

The Roman Church was a half-amalgamated mixture of Jews and Gentiles, full of rivalries and jealousies; the Gentiles boasting against the stem into which they were grafted, the Jews needing to be reminded that "we" are no better than they; while the lesson is pressed on both that, because God is one, therefore He deals impartially with all His children, justifying the circumcision by faith and the uncircumcision through faith.

But here he anticipates an objection. Does not this doctrine encourage evil living? May not faith cancel our obligation to fulfil that righteousness which the ancient law required? May we not even glorify God by exhibiting much sin receiving grace through abundant faith? The answer of the Apostle is remarkable. It is not that we dare not run the risk, but that there is within us a life which "cannot" behave thus. This, he insists, our very baptism teaches. Immersion is burial and emergence from a watery grave, and announces that we who thus claim to share Christ's death profess also to share His new life. And all baptism is either immersion (*i.e.* burial) or such a passing of water over the head as represents and means immersion.

Well, then, our "old man" has shared His crucifixion; has it died, that as death no more has dominion over Him, so should sin (which indeed *is* death) have no more dominion over us. All this the Christian is bound to ex-

hibit in his life and practice by an effort of faith. He must reckon himself dead to sin ; he must not let sin reign in his mortal body. Having made his choice, he must present his members as servants, not to uncleanness but to holiness. This is our duty and our privilege. But this, he urges incessantly, cannot be attained by a weary, mechanical effort, dealing separately with each detail of life, but only by a spiritual change, a new vitality, an eternal life in Christ Jesus. In theory, and looking at what is given to us (but given, that we may accept and so enjoy it), this release from the dominion of sin is perfect as the release of a woman from conjugal obligations when her husband dies. Now, joined to another, we are to serve in newness of spirit and not in oldness of the letter.

Was this then easy ? First, he tells of his own bygone experience. As to the letter of the law, it was good : I saw its goodness, and desired it, but I failed ; I found myself dead. In the depths of my consciousness it made me fatally worse, and worse off, than if I knew it not : it slew me !

And at this point there comes a significant change of structure : he passes to the present tense. For the same is always true. Always, to say, " I will do right—I myself : I will conquer, attain, perform, work righteousness," that is to be miserable ; it is with the flesh to serve sin, even while the mind is loyal to a sublime but unattained ideal ; it is to struggle, to fail, to perish, to ask—and on such terms to ask ever in vain—for a Deliverer.

All this the Apostle accepts for his own. Because it *was* his own, and just as true of him, if ever he tried the experiment of living so, as of the youngest formalist who fails to-day, but is confident that he will succeed to-morrow. No, my friend, on those lines never, not if you were the Apostle Paul.

But now the remarkable thing is, that, whereas the

sixth chapter asked, "How can we, who are dead to sin, live any longer therein? How is this possible?" the seventh chapter asks, "How is anything else possible? Who shall deliver me from this?" In the fifth chapter we are dead to the law and free from its marital claims, and in the sixth chapter we are dead to sin. But in the seventh chapter the position is reversed: the law is alive, and we are powerless as the dead to its requirements. What are we to think of this? We are not to think of it without marking the strong contrast, the bold and glad antithesis, between the two experiences of the seventh chapter and the eighth, between a man as far as he only strives and the same man when he receives grace. The wretched man of the seventh chapter is not enjoying the rights, and exercising the freedom spoken of in the fifth and sixth chapters. The discussion is formally summed up in the assertion that "with the mind" I myself aspire; "with the flesh" I sin; but when the spirit of life takes the field the conflict is decided.

The law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus emancipates from the law of sin and death. What a different freedom from that which for a moment crossed our mind as the vile thought flitted by, Let us continue in sin that grace may have the more scope in pardoning us! To one who knew anything of grace this was impossible; how could he? Not emancipation, but slavery and anguish, was what fleshly license meant. And now, from this base slavery the way of escape was plain. Freedom in religion, like all true freedom, was not license, but glad obedience to a nobler law. The law of the spirit of life breaks the force of that sinister tendency, that infection of nature as with a plague, that law of sin and death.

It is so with all other life as with the life divine. The law of life in our material bodies sets them free from the law of disintegration, dissolution, which would otherwise

in a few hours convert them into dust and vapour. The inspiration of patriotism, or even of martial honour, makes it freedom and joy to a soldier to go on active "service," with its toil, privation, discipline, and peril.

The law of love made it so light a thing for Jacob to serve for seven years, that they seemed but a few days unto him, for the love that he bare unto Rachel.

And no religion is worthy of the name which has not its inspiration, its new life with new conditions, which are privileges. The deaf man is perplexed and baffled—but his ears are unstopped. The blind man gropes in the noon-day as in the dark—but his eyes are opened. The prisoner endures cramp and confinement—but he is free; and as well may the captive pity the exertion with which the freeman roams beside sparkling waters, or climbs the wind-swept mountain and gazes over half a realm, as the captive of Satan pity the freeman who serves Christ, in newness of the Spirit, with that service which is perfect freedom.

G. A. DERRY.

#### *SOME RECENT BIBLICAL LITERATURE.*

THE Cambridge Bible, *Joel and Amos*, is another specimen of Dr. Driver's thorough work and exhaustive scholarship. It provides all that the ordinary reader needs to know, and adds much that is valuable to more advanced students. Slight changes would make it a student's commentary on the Hebrew text. Advantage has been taken of the brevity of Joel and Amos to introduce numerous special notes on such points as *Shaddai*, *Jehovah of Hosts*, etc., and above all, the long and interesting illustrated excursus on *Locusts*. Perhaps the most important feature is the very full discussion of the date of Joel. The uncertainty as to whether Joel was one of the earliest or one of the latest pro-

ductions of Hebrew literature has long been one of the curiosities of modern criticism. Dr. Driver concludes that Joel "may be placed most safely shortly after Haggai and Zechariah i. 8, c. 500 B.C. At the same time the possibility must be admitted that it *may* be later, and that it dates in reality from the century after Malachi,"—a much more definite and decided verdict than that given in the author's *Introduction to Old Testament Literature*. We believe we shall be expressing a very general opinion in saying that the section on this subject in the present volume, together with the articles in the *EXPOSITOR* by Dr. A. B. Davidson (1888), and Mr. G. Buchanan Gray (1893), provide the English reader with a final and conclusive proof of the late date of Joel. Dr. Driver, in spite of obvious uncertainty as to some passages, practically accepts the integrity of the Book of Amos as we now have it, as against Wellhausen, Cheyne, G. A. Smith, Nowack, etc. The closing prophecy of restoration, ix. 8–15, is only accepted after a long discussion of *pros* and *cons*. Here, as always, Dr. Driver is most careful to do full justice to the view he rejects; so much so, that in the present instance he conveys the impression that the weight of evidence is against the conclusion he deduces from it. We note, however, one omission. Is not the preoccupation of the passage with Edom a note of post-exilic authorship? Perhaps the omission is intentional on account of the uncertainty of the text. There are also two or three other points which might possibly have been noticed in a work which is so largely exhaustive. In expounding the relation of Amos to the religion of his time, something might have been said of the statement in 2 Kings xiv. 25, that Jeroboam II. conquered, "according to the word of Jehovah the God of Israel," spoken by the prophet, Jonah ben Amittai. Again, as to the note on iii. 13, *maggal*, sickle, is twice read—or misread—by the LXX. in Zechariah v. 12.

In reference to the relation of Amos to the Priestly Code, it would have been interesting to have had Dr. Driver's view of their resemblance in "regularity of structure," cf. Amos i. 3-ii. 6, with the "schedule-style," as it has been called, of Genesis i. 1-ii. 4a.

From America we have *Isaiah, a Study of Chapters i.-xii.*, by Prof. H. G. Mitchell, of Boston University,<sup>1</sup> the author of a useful Commentary on Amos. The present work, which fully accepts the modern criticism of Isaiah, contains introductory studies on the Prophet, his Times, and his Prophecies, with full and clear tables of the chronology, critical analysis, and analysis of contents; a new translation, with non-Isaianic matter in italics; and a brief popular exegesis, with footnotes on points of Hebrew scholarship. It is beautifully printed on good paper, and well bound. The author accepts ix. 1-6 and xi. 1-9 as Isaiah's; but regards ii. 2-4 and xii. as post-exilic. The publishers enclose a statement that, "with the exception of Cheyne's Introduction, which is one-sided, and very expensive," this is the only "up-to-date work on the subject in the English language. Its importance therefore cannot be overestimated." Readers with a taste for compound rule of three may calculate the relative expensiveness of an Introduction on the whole Book of Isaiah, in 448 pages, of about 400 words each, at 24s., and of this work on Isaiah i.-xii., in 263 pages, of about 340 words each, at two dollars. But, to return to more important matters, the description of Prof. Mitchell's work as an up-to-date book, whose importance cannot be overestimated, suggested an English equivalent for Duhm or Dillmann, and stood in the way of a fair appreciation of this "Study," which does not aim at being anything of the kind. As to "up-to-date"-ness, its only advantage over such a work as Dr. Skinner's *Isaiah* is that it is published

<sup>1</sup> T. Y. Crowell & Co., New York and Boston.

a little later, and that the plan of the book allows Prof. Mitchell to quote the most recent authorities on some points of purely Hebrew scholarship. The book is evidently based on wide reading and a judicious choice and use of authorities, aided by competent scholarship. It is, as the title states, "A Study," and not a full commentary; but students and the general reader will find much useful information and suggestive comment in an attractive form; and the style is lucid and interesting. Nevertheless, "Zion the fair" is not a suitable translation of *bath Tsiyyon*; and "Zion the fair is left like a booth" suggests grotesque associations. While we are on the subject of Isaiah, we may venture to suggest that it is high time we had a new edition of Prof. Cheyne's commentary.

The Cambridge Bible series of the Apocrypha is inaugurated by an able and scholarly volume on the *First Book of Maccabees*, by the Rev. W. Fairweather and Dr. J. S. Black. Prefixed to the introduction and commentary on the book itself, there is a very useful and interesting chapter on the Apocrypha generally. This volume has one great advantage over those on the canonical books, its text is that of the Revised Version.

We may mention next two important contributions to textual criticism, both connected with the Syriac versions. Mr. W. E. Barnes has compiled *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version*, to which he adds *A Discussion of the Value of the Codex Ambrosianus* of that version.<sup>1</sup> This work is an admirable example of the minute scholarship for which Cambridge is distinguished. Such work as Mr. Barnes has done in this volume is urgently needed in order that we may know the real testimony of the versions to the text of the Old Testament. We may note some curious readings of the Peshitta. By dexterous omissions 1 Chronicles vii. 21 is altered, so that a raid made

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge University Press, pp. xxxiv., 62.

by the Ephraimites upon the men of Gath becomes a raid by the Gittites on the men of Ephraim. Again, the Peshitta substitutes 1 Kings xii. 25-30 followed by 1 Kings xiv. 1-9 for 2 Chron. xi. 5-xii. 12. The other Syriac work is a *Palestinian Syriac Lectionary*,<sup>1</sup> containing lessons from the Pentateuch, Job, Proverbs, Acts and Epistles; recently discovered by Mrs. Lewis (of the Lewis Codex), and edited by her, with critical notes by Prof. Nestle; a glossary by Mrs. Gibson; and a facsimile of two pages. It is apparently a Melchite document. Dr. Nestle speaks of it as a valuable addition to extant Biblical texts. The lectionary agrees very frequently with the Greco-Latin codices D F G and with the Syriac versions. The rubrics contain curious blunders; *e.g.*, a lesson from Romans is labelled as from the Epistle to the Hebrews, and lessons from the Ephesians as from "the Epistle to the Jews."

Rev. R. H. Charles, to whom students of Apocalyptic literature already owe so much, lays them under new obligations by his very complete and scholarly edition of *The Assumption of Moses*,<sup>2</sup> which contains the text of the Latin version in which the book is extant, with an English translation, notes on the text and interpretation, etc., and a very full introduction. Mr. Charles says of this book, "Written in Hebrew shortly after the beginning of the Christian era, this book was designed by its author to protest against the growing secularisation of the Pharisaic party through its fusion with political ideals and popular Messianic beliefs." The *Assumption* itself is a dull pamphlet, which might perhaps fill twenty octavo pages, and is of the usual apocalyptic type, an obscure *résumé* of history with a prophecy of the Last Things. Sometimes, however, there is a gleam of poetry; *e.g.*, Joshua is made to say to Moses: "Thy sepulchre is from the rising to the setting

<sup>1</sup> Cambridge University Press, pp. cxli. 139, 12s. 6d. net.

<sup>2</sup> London, A. and C. Black, pp. lxvi., 11s. 6d.

sun, and from the south to the confines of the north: all the world is thy sepulchre." But apart from its intrinsic merits, a work by a contemporary of our Lord must always be interesting to Bible students.

*The Origin of Genesis*,<sup>1</sup> by Pastor George Stosch, is an English translation of a work written because Dr. Pentecost complained that German theology had spread mists round the Bible. Hence Pastor Stosch, in this and similar works, seeks to take away the reproach from the theology of his native land by clearing away these mists. His book maintains that Genesis was mostly written by the Patriarchs. "The historical character of Genesis in its fullest sense depends on whether the Hebrew language dates back to the remotest times," p. 34, *i.e.* before the Confusion of Tongues. The early chapters give us "the reminiscences and impressions of Adam of the first days of his life," p. 51. The descriptions of the Flood "mark them as Noah's own writing," p. 89. But we are pained and surprised to learn that the account of Noah's drunkenness and its consequences is not, as we might have hoped, the penitent confession of the patriarch; but is "the criticism of one of his sons," not, as again we should have supposed, Ham, but "Shem, as we suspect." We feel much disappointed in Shem, for we had thought better things of him. We might almost suppose that the publishers have had this book translated in the interests of Dr. Driver and his school, as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the principles of traditional criticism. We have also received a translation of the recently discovered fragment of the Hebrew original of *Ecclesiasticus*,<sup>2</sup> by A. E. Cowley, M.A., and Ad. Neubauer, M.A., arranged in parallel columns with the Revised Version, with a facsimile; four more volumes of Prof. Moulton's, *Modern Reader's Bible*, viz., *Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah*,

<sup>1</sup> London, Elliot Stock, pp. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Clarendon Press, pp. xii., 65, 2s. 6d.

*Daniel and the Minor Prophets*; vol. i. of Mr. Mackail's *Eversley Bible, Genesis to Numbers*,<sup>1</sup> an edition of the Authorised Version, in which the delightful type and paper are partly marred by the absence of headings, and the unattractive binding; the Rev. P. W. H. Kettlewell's *Ruth* and *I. Samuel*, with four maps, and very brief introductions and notes, in Messrs Rivington, Percival & Co's *Books of the Bible*; Part I. of *The Emphasized Bible* by J. B. Rotherham,<sup>2</sup> the Gospel of Matthew, in a new translation, and marked with special symbols to show the English reader the exact meaning of the original; *Reasons for the Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch* by the Rev. Isaac Gibson, with introduction by Rev. W. H. Hazard, M.A., Ph.D.;<sup>3</sup> the *Gospel in the Pentateuch*, by C. H. Waterhouse, B.A., M.D.;<sup>4</sup> the *Apocalypse*, by H. G. H.<sup>5</sup>; and the *Kingdom of God*,<sup>6</sup> a specimen of a proposed edition (? anonymous) of a revision of the Authorised Version, with notes, headings, etc.

W. H. BENNETT.

<sup>1</sup> Macmillan and Co., pp. 515, 5s.

<sup>2</sup> London, H. R. Allenson, pp. 64, 2s.

<sup>3</sup> Philadelphia, G. W. Jacobs & Co., pp. 100, 50 cents net.

<sup>4</sup> London, Isbister & Co., pp. 128, paper covers, 2s.

<sup>5</sup> Elliot Stock, pp. 136, paper covers, 1s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> Elliot Stock, pp. 33, 1s.

### *THE NAME OF NAMES.*

WITH us moderns name-words have been long ago discharged of all meaning, and speech has lost a distinct element of colour, since a man's name is no longer a picture but only a number. With the ancients a name had life and individuality: it told a story: it gave pledges of character: it was a title of honour. Round it gathered splendid associations, and it was invested with gracious attractions. Perhaps it marks the deliverance of a soul escaping from its meaner self and rising to its height, when Jacob the supplanter becomes Israel the "soldier," or "prince of God"; or it is the revelation of the deeper character hitherto hidden and unsuspected when Simon, the son of Jonas, is changed into Simon Peter; or it is the celebration of an excellency which has long been recognised and loved, when that good Levite Joses is named afresh by the apostles, "Barnabas, the son of consolation"; or it celebrates the beginning of a great career, when Saul of Tarsus, Pharisee and persecutor, becomes Paul, saint and apostle. The Bible names are chapters in the history of the soul; they are a living and heartstirring Evangel, and of them all the chief beyond compare is that of Jesus. This word is as a spring of water which never runneth dry, and round which the flowers are ever blooming.

One often reads in the biography of some Roman Christian that he had a special devotion to a certain saint, and among other things it is meant that there was a natural affinity between this Christian and say St. Francis

of Assisi or St. Philip Neri, because these saints had each some distinctive grace. Within the Person and character of the Chief Saint of God are contained all graces and sides of holiness, so that in Him can be discovered the special excellence of every one of His disciples. Each brought his pitcher to this Fountain, and filled it to overflowing without diminution of His riches, in Whom dwelleth all the fulness of God. As none can fill more than his own vessel none can know more than a measure of his Lord. This is all he can appropriate, and this is what he loves. There be therefore not one Lord, but many, as it were, in One, and so there be many names, each one of which has its own reason, without any one of which we had been poorer. Jesus, which is the personal and therefore may be called the original name, has burst into blossom with every spring of Christian feeling, and added title upon title, each a description, an honour, a gospel. Already in the consciousness of the Church He is Prophet, Priest, and King; Husband, Brother, Friend; Lord, Redeemer, Christ; Master, Shepherd, Bishop, and ages to come will create new caskets wherein to store the hitherto unimagined revelations of Jesus. It is given unto each disciple to travel through the length and breadth of this land, or at least to see its fulness from some high place, but he will make his home somewhere, and there he will abide in sweet content. According to what has been done for him, and according to the vision given him, will he know his Saviour: unto one name he will therefore have a special devotion. This name he must be allowed to use with perfect freedom, for it is his heritage, provided that he deny no other name, nor censure his brother, to whom it is a habitation and a home.

It is with amazement that one has to assert this birth-right of the Christian, and it is with shame that he finds it necessary to vindicate the use of Jesus, in its unadorned

and beautiful simplicity. There was surely a day when this name was the fond and free possession of every disciple, and it certainly could not have seemed credible once that this name would have to be used with care and reserve. It has, however, been discovered in certain quarters of religious thought that a distinct danger lies in its unguarded use, and that the person who calls the Master Jesus too constantly may fairly be suspected of false doctrine. Why, it is asked with much acuteness, should he say Jesus in this marked fashion, and not the Lord or Christ, and the suggestion is left in the mind, like tares sown in a field by night, that if the truth were known this person does not believe that Jesus is Christ and Lord. Were this unreasonable and uncharitable idea to seize the Christian mind—that to speak of the Lord as Jesus is to derogate from His divine honour—then not only would many simple-minded Christians be deprived of the dearest word they know through fear of watchful censors, but religious controversy, already widespread and bitter, would devastate an untouched field. Round many names it has raged—Augustine, Clement, Luther, Calvin, Jonathan Edwards, Wesley—and at their points of attack and defence the dead have lain thick and the earth has been soaked with blood. One name only has been held sacred, a neutral country into which no party must enter with arms in their hands, since it belonged to all; a building for which the Red Cross of Geneva secured immunity from shot and shell, since it was consecrated to Pity and Charity. There, under the shelter of Jesus, the wounded in the cruelest of wars, where alone poisoned weapons are allowed, could find safety and healing; there the nobler antagonists could meet in peace. Let it be laid down or secretly assumed that the Christian who has a partiality for this name does not hold the Catholic Faith, then it will be taken from timid believers and handed over to unbe-

lievers. This will be among the wonders of the latter day, that a man be an offender in the Church because he is too prodigal in his use of Jesus, and that only a stranger be allowed the unrestrained liberty of the Lord's personal name. One fears lest already there is a court guide in the matter of sacred titles, and one notices that certain say "Our blessed Lord" with a distinct sense of religious etiquette. The effect is not encouraging. When a Christian takes lessons how to call his Saviour, lest he commit a religious *faux pas*, conventionality and unreality have reached a disastrous height.

It is insinuated that any one within the bounds of faith who prefers to call our Master Jesus to, say, Christ or our Lord is a Unitarian at heart, whatever he may profess with his lips; and passing by the fact at present that the charge lies first of all against the Holy Evangelists, one is curious to know the state of the case. Is this assumption correct that the extreme Left in Theology can be distinguished by its use of Jesus and, what will then follow, the extreme Right by its carefulness to add titles to the name? If it were so, some disciples would not be in the slightest degree affected, because they would claim the liberty of naming their Master as they pleased, and therefore the matter is not one for laborious investigation, or arithmetical accuracy. At the same time it is instructive to take Martineau's *Endeavours after the Christian Life*, or Channing's sermons on *Love to Christ*, or Thom's *Spiritual Faith*, or Beard's *Hibbert Lecture*, especially at its fine concluding chapter, and to discover that not only is there no sustained and calculated choice of the name Jesus but a preference for the title Christ with frequent use of Jesus Christ. One could not, I fancy, mention four more representative Unitarians, so that if Jesus be a password of their faith, a sort of masonic sign not to be mistaken, then these eminent persons have not yet reached the inner circle.

It would be correct to say that a writer outside the Christian sphere, as, for instance, Strauss, or one inside but dealing with Christianity for the time from the outside as the Master of Balliol in his book on the *Evolution of Religion*, are accustomed to refer to Jesus, but quite inaccurate to impute this habit to the theologians of the Unitarian faith.

It will, on the other hand, be granted by every person that the extreme Right in the adoration of the Lord is held by certain devotional writers of the Roman communion, against whom it may be brought that they have made overmuch of the material Body and Blood of the Lord, although any excess of this kind may well be forgiven to the hearts who have made so much more of Himself. No one, not even the anonymous author of *Quia Amore Languet*, has written of the Master with such tender passion and such luxuriance of language as Faber; and yet in his *Precious Blood*, and his *Notes on Doctrinal and Spiritual Subjects*, and in his morning hymns it is almost ever Jesus whom he celebrates as the "Sweet Babe of Bethlehem," or the Victim of the Cross, to whom we shall be "for ever and for ever owing all and such an all," but also as the Divine Mediator in the Heavenly Places,—

"Jesus, who at this very hour,  
At God's right hand in pomp and power,  
Our nature still dost wear,  
Oh! let Thy wounds still intercede,  
And by their simple silence plead  
Thy countless merits there."

Surely the heart of every Christian must be lifted when the north and the south meet,<sup>1</sup> and their voices blend in the

<sup>1</sup> It occurs to me as I correct this proof that to-morrow (16th January) will be celebrated by the Roman Church as the "Feast of the Most Holy Name of Jesus," when St. Bernard's hymn, so familiar to us all, "*Jesu, dulcis memoria*," will be sung throughout the whole Catholic world; and against the Roman Church no charge of Socinianism has, so far as I am aware, as yet been brought.

celebration of Jesus ; but the lover of the name turns to the highest authority for sanction and approval. Before any one submits to dictation as to what he shall call his Master or allows his faith to be suspected, let him acquaint himself with the usage of the Evangelists, the Apostles, the Lord and His Church. What can be more impressive and suggestive than the custom of the four Gospels, where the Son of God is described by no titles nor heralded with pomp at every turn, but is called simply Jesus, so that the artless narrative is beautified with a thread of gold? No device of art could carry such conviction or veracity, none so persuade the heart as this simplicity. Revise the Gospels and correct their nomenclature, adding in every second verse "Lord" and "Christ" to Jesus, and the Gospels would lose one of their charms. Stiff with embroidery, they would hang awkwardly on the lowly Nazarene, nor would they add any dignity to the Son of God. Unlettered men the first biographers of the Lord may have been, but they knew, as by an instinct, what was spiritually befitting, and nothing, neither sign nor miracle, caused them to depart from their simplicity. It is Jesus, when He hungered and thirsted, when He was weak and cast down, when He was scourged and crucified; He is also Jesus when He forgives sins and raises the dead and asserts His heavenly existence and power as the Eternal Son with the Father. Alike within the experiences and limitations of humanity, and exercising His power and authority of Deity, He remains Jesus. Nor is it only before He was crucified that the Evangelists wrote after this fashion; when He had risen from the dead He is still Jesus. Jesus appears in the upper room, the doors being shut, and bestowed peace on His disciples; Jesus joined Himself to the two on the way to Emmaus and caused their hearts to burn; Jesus showed Himself to the disciples on the shore of Tiberias. Writing from an after

time, when their Master's earthly life was closed and He had returned to the Father, they make no change from what they had heard with their ears and the angel had said unto Mary, "Thou shalt call His name Jesus."

When we enter the book, which has been felicitously called the Gospel of the Holy Ghost, and which records the spiritual energy of the Risen Saviour, we find that the life of Galilee and the Name are both continued. When the disciples follow their ascending Lord with wistful gaze, the angels comfort them with the assurance that this "same Jesus" will return. At the Day of Pentecost St. Peter refers boldly to Jesus of Nazareth. When a helpless man was healed at the "Gate Beautiful" of the Temple, the Apostle declared that God had glorified His Son Jesus, and the Church uniting in prayer sought that signs and wonders may be done by the name of Thy "Holy Child Jesus." The initial and decisive victory of the new faith was won by Him who had worked at Nazareth and preached in Galilee, had been persecuted in Jerusalem and crucified on Calvary—by Jesus.

Without question the unadorned name passes into a more stately form in the Epistles of St. Paul, where, as a rule, we read Jesus Christ, or the Lord Jesus Christ, and there is more than one reason for this advance. While the Gospels were doubtless written later than the Epistles they were more or less constructed from early material, and they represent the feeling of the first period—of faith without controversy, of religion before theology. It was not needful to assert or defend: it was enough to worship and declare Jesus. With St. Paul begins a new period, when the Church was face to face with a critical pagan world, was contending with Jewish bigotry, inflamed by the success of the Nazarene faith, and was threatened with heresy within her own borders. The name, which was sufficient for Faith and Love, for the conversion of sinners

at Pentecost and the doing of many marvels, was not pronounced enough for arguments and creeds, for Apologetic and Dogmatic. Unto the Gentiles, who were accustomed to think of innumerable gods, it must be made known that, as there might be many princes throughout the Empire, but one Cæsar, ὁ κύριος (Acts xxv. 26), so in the spiritual worlds there may be "principalities and powers," but one Lord, and He is Jesus. And in every city the Apostle must insist and prove unto his own people that the ancient hope of Israel had been fulfilled, and Him of whom the prophets spake had appeared in Jesus of Nazareth. And so Jesus is also Christ, and His full style in Christian theology is the Lord Jesus Christ. And yet when the Apostle declared the supreme glory of the Master in that great passage of the Philippian Epistle, it was neither Lord nor Christ which was pronounced the Name above every name, but the word of the Gospels, "That at the Name of Jesus every knee should bow."

One is also moved to ask another question with all reverence, which goes to the heart of the matter and beyond which there can be no debate. It will be the desire of every disciple, while jealously guarding every honour of the Lord and fondly cherishing any special revelation he may have received, to give the highest place to the name of the Lord's own preference. Among His wealth of names which does the Risen Saviour love and use? And this we can discover by noticing how He calls Himself. Twice He spoke from an open heaven with great authority to the Apostles, besides various other revelations and visions. Once it was to St. Paul, then an enemy, and St. Paul spake for us all when he said: "Who art Thou, Lord?" and the Lord answered us all, "I am Jesus." Once it was to St. John, then a martyr on Patmos, and to His friend He said, "I, Jesus, am the root and the offspring of David and the bright and the morning star." As an

angel gave his Name to the Blessed Virgin, so is He known by the same among the angels; and if it come to pass that disciples should grow fearful of the Name of names, it will be left unto the Master's own lips, so that unused in its simplicity on earth it will ever have its home in heaven.

Apart from the devotion of the individual who has his spiritual taste in names, Jesus has come to have a special value for the whole Church, because it has come by force of circumstances to be the vindication of a great fact. If Lord and, it may be, Christ assert the Master's Deity, then the historical name emphasizes the Master's humanity. So profound and rich is the mystery of His Person that it has been difficult for His disciples to hold the same with a well-balanced mind. They have been apt to fall into extremes, some denying that He is very God of very God, some doubting whether He is very Man of very man. It may be that the former error is the more dangerous and is attended with more disastrous loss, but in early days, when this matter was argued out, the Church contended only less keenly against the denial of our Lord's proper Humanity than against the denial of His proper Deity. As the custodian of the full and complete faith the Church must continue the same protest; and if a very sharp watch has been kept against the heresy of Arius, who minimized the Deity of the Master, too little attention has been given to the history of Apollinaris, who minimized the humanity. When one detects a vague dislike to the use of Jesus and a revulsion from the idea that Jesus had varying states of mind, such as joy, sorrow, anger, despondency, or that indeed He had any limitations or passions in His human nature, then it is apparent that persons who imagine themselves entirely orthodox are consciously losing the fulness of the Catholic Faith and in a little will have lost the complete Lord. The best of people, and not least likely some of those who are the most conscientious guardians of the

Creed, may be heretics without knowing it, and one would like to take them by (very simple) guile and put them to the test. Suppose this severely Trinitarian, and, let us assume, ultra-Protestant class should come across a book in which the Blessed Virgin was frequently called the "Mother of God," would not they condemn the author and accuse him of Mariolatry. And would it not be a salutary lesson in charity to such good people to be informed (or reminded) that it was not the first time that the supposed offender against the Faith was the orthodox man and his censors the heretics, since a Church Council decided that this very criticism was a heresy against the Person of the Lord, and that to call the Blessed Virgin "Mother of God" was a pledge of sound theology?

Many may suppose that if a person holds fast by the Deity of the Lord any mistake regarding His humanity is of little moment, but this is to miss the heart of the Catholic Faith. If Jesus be not as truly the Son of man as He is the Son of God, then is He not the Head of the Body which is the Church, then has He offered no Vicarious sacrifice for our sins, then is He not the firstfruits of them who sleep, then have we no High-Priest touched with a feeling of our infirmities and interceding for us in the Heavenly Places. No one really died or rose again; no one was persecuted or tempted, since in His Deity Jesus could have none of these experiences, and so the life and death of Jesus were only a deceptive appearance and a vain show. As a certain type of piety will ever be inclined to avoid and belittle the human side of Jesus' life, just as the same school dislikes and censures the human side of Religion, it is therefore the more needful that we hold by the Name which, as every one knows, affirms the real humanity of Mary's Son.

Surely one ought also most highly to value Jesus because it is the personal name of our dear Lord, and has on that

account an especial fascination. There is a use for titles and a use for a private name; the former are for the public, the latter for friends. There are occasions when it would be fitting to call one's friend by his title; but in the intimate moments of life we fall back on that which preceded and underlies all words of honour. About this word there is a fragrance and sweetness which have won the hearts of young and old in all generations since the home of Nazareth. If one turns to the hymnology of the Church, he cannot fail to notice the number and tenderness of those hymns which embody the passion for Jesus.

As children we sang :

"Jesus is our Shepherd."

In youth when we heard His call :

"Jesus, Master, whose I am."

In old age it will be :

"Jesus, Lover of my soul."

It is not when they are coldest or farthest from the heart of the Lord that His disciples call Him Jesus.

Would it not be helpful to spiritual life if Christians were to address their prayers more frequently to the Lord, and to use the Name—especially in both the quiet hours and the sore straits of life? Times there are of communion, when the heaven opens above our head, as to St. John, and we see the Lamb in the midst of the throne. Times there are of temptation when we look up stedfastly into heaven, as did St. Stephen, and see Jesus standing on the right hand of God. Then is it our time to pray, with short petitions which go from heart to heart, saying, "Lord Jesus, bless me," "Lord Jesus, help me." and in the end, "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." So we in this lower place come "unto Jesus the Mediator," and lay hold of Him by both His perfect and holy natures and so obtain all our

need through that Humanity which understands it, through that Deity which can supply it above all our imagination.

And would it not be expedient and gracious to use the name far more in preaching the Gospel? Of all the names it raises the least question, it offers the fullest blessing. There may be some who for a while shall not be able to say, "My Lord and my God," but whose lips linger on the sound of Jesus. There are many who cannot at once accept the mystery of the Holy Trinity, but there are none who would not desire to be saved from their sins. Wherefore the name is a conciliation, a commendation, an invitation. As a vagrant passing down a street in the cold winter time sees through an open door the unthought-of comfort and beauty of a home, so does the wandering soul behold the heart of God open in the word Jesus, and feel itself suddenly encompassed by the warmth and welcome of the Divine Love.

JOHN WATSON.

## THE ARTICLES OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.

### III. BORN OF THE VIRGIN MARY.

Qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine. Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.

*Rom.*: τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου.—*Aqu.*: qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine.—*Afric.*: the same.<sup>1</sup>—*Jerus.*: σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα.<sup>2</sup>—*Antioch.*: qui propter nos venit et natus est ex Maria virgine.<sup>3</sup>

The complete form of this Article in our Creed is almost unknown in all the Creeds, except those which can be

<sup>1</sup> Only *ex virgine Maria*. Close by is *qui natus est*, also *natum*.

<sup>2</sup> So according to Cyril (cf. Caspari, in the *norweg. Abhandlungen*, pp. 95-102); the Liturgy of James, if it made known the Creed up to this point, would unquestionably show an older, more popular form. In his 12th *Catechesis* Cyril does justice to the meaning of the other formulas.

<sup>3</sup> On the variations of the fragmentary Greek text see Caspari, I. 79 f.

proved to be derived from it.<sup>1</sup> It must, therefore, have been peculiar, we do not know for how long, to the South-Gallican Church, to which we owe our recension of the Creed. It only states more fully, and in Biblical language,<sup>2</sup> what all the other forms also state, that Jesus, without a human father, through the wonderful operation of the Holy Ghost, was conceived by Mary, and was therefore born of a Virgin. But this has been an element of the Creed as far back as we can trace it; and if Ignatius may count as a witness for a yet older confession belonging to yet earlier Apostolic times, the name of the Virgin Mary was already contained in it,<sup>3</sup> as well as that of Pontius Pilate. We can also maintain that during the first four centuries of the Church no teacher, and no religious community which had any pretence to consider themselves inheritors of the original Christianity, took any other view of the beginning

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Caspari, II. 203; III. 213. The oldest form of Creed in which we read: "qui de coelo descendit, conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine," is that which the Court theologians carried through at the Synod of Rimini, A.D. 359 (Hieron. c. *Lucif.*, c. 17, 18; Vallarsi, II<sup>3</sup>. 189). In the Greek text of the formula of Niké, which is the groundwork of this formula of Rimini (cf. Hefele, *Conziliengesch.*, I<sup>2</sup>. 708), we find simply γεννηθεῖσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου (Theodoret I. H. E., II. 21). The variation in the Latin setting seems to have been a concession to the custom of some of the Westerns who were present. The second Creed quoted by Caspari with the above formula is attributed to Damasus, which is certainly a mistake (Hieron., ed. Vallarsi, XI. 200. Its historical value cannot be estimated without the solution of a whole chain of complicated questions and comparisons; cf. *Pseudoaug. sermo* 235 (ed. Bass., XVI. 1286, with the Benedictines' preface); *Cod. can. eccl. Rom.*, c. 89 (Leonis opp. ed. Ballerini, III. 279, 919 f., 946 ff.). Moreover, in the latter text "conceptus de Spiritu Sancto" is missing. It has often crept into older texts, which in other respects have no connection with the later Apostles' Creed, and have not been interpolated to agree with it in other places, e.g., in a sermon probably of Ambrose (Caspari, II. 57, 126; IV. 220), and in a similar sermon of Augustine (Caspari, II. 275 ff. See the corrected text, IV. 233).

<sup>2</sup> Luke 1. 31, 35; Matt. 1. 18, 20.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 43. Germ. ed. For the fact that Justin in the passages resembling a Creed (*Apol.* I. 81, 46; *Dial.* 85) always speaks of the Virgin only, without naming her, is unimportant for the history of the Creed. Elsewhere he is not silent (*Dial.* 100 twice; *Dial.* 120). Nor is it important that Aristides in his *Apology*, c. 2, should call her only the "Hebrew Virgin."

of the life of Jesus. Only those who dissolved the whole historical appearance of Jesus into a deceptive phantom taught otherwise. Cerinthus, who taught that the Saviour, the true Christ, entered into a personal union with Jesus at His Baptism, which was dissolved again before His Passion, allowed that the man Jesus was the son of Joseph. The only importance that this man possessed for religion was that he served as a visible form, a mouthpiece to the Christ quite distinct from him. Old Cerinthus would not be such a strange figure among our modern theologians. According to Irenæus, he declared the Virgin Birth to be impossible, and he preferred St. Mark's Gospel, which is silent on that subject.<sup>1</sup> Marcion, who preferred to write a new Gospel for himself and his community, allowed his Christ to come into the world without human aid in the synagogue at Capernaum. But this Christ remained a stranger on the earth so utterly strange to him. His whole history is a Theophany lasting a year, which only the absurd superstition of the Church could have accepted as corporeal reality. Since the beginning of the second century Jewish Christians, who resented the development of the Church since the days of St. Paul, and violently hated that Apostle, sought to win followers for a mixed religion, which was more nearly related to Islam on the one side and to Buddhism on the other than to Christianity. They fought for it with the weapons of a relentless criticism against all historical revelation and documentary evidence. They were indifferent to the human beginning of Jesus' life. They did not care if the Jews did call Him the son of Joseph. For they found compensation for the surrender of the mystery of the Christian faith in a fantastic doctrine of the transmigration of souls, and in the assertion that Jesus was an incarnation of the true prophet, who

<sup>1</sup> So according to the single trustworthy notice of the use of the Gospels by the Cerinthians in Irenæus III. 11, 7, where he refers back to I. 26, 1; III. 11, 1.

had often already, especially in Adam and Moses, become flesh and man. We do not know whether a real community, a church of this faith, ever existed. But, on the other hand, the Jewish communities, which prolonged a sectarian existence to about 400 A.D., or possibly even longer, while holding tenaciously to their nationality, their language, their Old Testament, and their Hebrew Gospel, were just as faithful to the confession of Jesus as the Son of the Virgin.<sup>1</sup> Even in heathen Christendom the less violent innovators, such as the imaginative Valentinus (c. 140-160), the followers of the shoemaker Theodotus, who were well equipped with classical culture (c. 200), and the worldling Paul of Samosata in the Bishop's house at Antioch (c. 270), did not dare to attack it directly. The only renowned theologian who did was Photinus of Sirmium (c. 340-370). Julian the Apostate congratulated him thereon, and called him an uncommonly rational theologian.<sup>2</sup> Inasmuch as Photinus declared Jesus, the legitimate son of Joseph and Mary, to be a deified man because of His moral worth,<sup>3</sup> he made theology fit for a drawing-room, and in the eyes of the Cæsar, who had relapsed into heathenism, almost fit for a court. We must set beside this what Polycarp has related of his teacher, St. John. When the Apostle visited the Public Baths in Ephesus, and caught sight of Cerinthus, he hurried away, saying, "Let us fly, that the Baths may not collapse in which is found Cerinthus, the enemy of truth."

In the face of these facts, it may well seem strange that any one should consider the judgment on the value of this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my *Hist. of the Canon*, II. 668-673; esp. p. 670, note 3; also pp. 696-690.

<sup>2</sup> Facundus of Hermione (*Defensio tr. cap.*, IV. 2; Migne 67, col. 621) has preserved the fragment of Julian's letter. Julian has also favoured him with special regard in his polemic against Christianity (*Juliani contra Christ. quæ supersunt*, ed. Neumann, p. 214, 1).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my *Marcellus*, pp. 191, 198. In the latter passage, note 2, the improbable is explained to be probable only in respect of Paul of Samosata.

Article of the Confession had any kind of connection with the question as to the value of certain anthropological theories of isolated Church teachers. Long before Christians found time to set up theories on the original development of individual personality from the species, and also long before any one had derived unhistorical consequences from the miracle of the Conception of Jesus with reference to Mary and the brothers of Jesus, the fruit of her marriage with Joseph, belief in Jesus as the Son of the Virgin was the universal Christian belief. Was there ever indeed a Christian community without this belief? It is not in accordance with the actual facts to represent this belief as depending upon the historical value assigned to the narratives of two Evangelists. But the most surprising thing is that Lessing<sup>1</sup> should have lived so utterly in vain for certain Protestant theologians, that they can still imagine that the contradictions between St. Matthew and St. Luke furnish a valid proof against the historical value of their accounts of the Birth. How would these theologians judge of the history so inconvenient to them if the two accounts of the event agreed in every particular and only differed in outward expression? They would unquestionably maintain that they were not two witnesses, who would continuously guarantee a certain extension and a greater age for the myth, but only a single witness for the existence of the myth at the time of the Evangelist who first recorded it, if indeed he had not simply invented the history out of his own head. No further notice would be taken of the second narrator as a corrector of the style. But, as it is, we have two historical works, intended for very different circles of readers, which certainly, in this as in many other points, were drawn from perfectly different sources.

<sup>1</sup> I am referring to Lessing's famous thesis (W W., pub. by Maltzahn, x. 51), "The Resurrection of Christ may well be true, although the narratives in the Gospels are contradictory," which he so brilliantly expounds.

St. Luke already knows of many attempts to write the Gospel history. The writers like himself had received the history to be related from eye-witnesses. He appeals to the fact that as an investigator he has traced back the things he has to relate to their very beginning.

His whole work rests on these suppositions. By its means he hopes to lead on Theophilus, who was by birth a heathen, and probably did not yet belong to the Christian community, to the conviction that the Christian traditions of which he had heard were not pious myths, but trustworthy history. According to this the narrative in St. Luke 1. and 2. cannot have been the peculiar property of a small circle of Christians.

This is also corroborated by the narrative in St. Matthew 1., and indeed not only by its existence and its evident independence of St. Luke. The Gospel intended for the Jews and Jewish Christians is not a simple account of wonderful events in the life of Jesus, but a carefully arranged account of events of which a superficial knowledge is for the most part supposed. But the point of view from which St. Matthew looks at everything is not the simple confession that Jesus is the promised Messiah. The point kept strictly in view from the first page to the last is much more apologetic, and so far as it is unavoidable polemic. That which St. Matthew plainly declares at the end with reference to the Resurrection of Jesus (chap. 28. 11-15) the attentive reader should read throughout between the lines. His theme is as follows: Jesus, who from the beginning was an offence to the Jews, who was rejected by His people, and thus became a stumbling-block to the Jews, who was ignominiously slandered, even beyond the grave, that Jesus is nevertheless the Messiah. Just where the Jews scoff at and calumniate Him He fulfils the prophecy of the Messiah when rightly understood. It is only from this point of view that we can understand

the first chapter of St. Matthew. With few and simple words, but with a power of narration which lays hold of every sympathizing reader, the Evangelist pictures in chapter 1. 18-21 the imminent danger lest He who should save His people from their sins should be born as the illegitimate child of a wife who had been put away by her lawful husband on account of unfaithfulness. It is a holy work of God which has caused this horrible suggestion, it is the fulfilment of the prophet's prediction. Even those who will not acknowledge it have no right to blaspheme, for the danger is arrested by God's ordering. Mary did not give birth to her Son till Joseph had acknowledged her as his lawful wife, and had taken her unto him. The Evangelist had already prepared for this thoroughly apologetic narrative by the preceding genealogical table. Four women's names attract our notice in what is otherwise such a dry list of men's names. The honourable female ancestors of the race, such as Sarah or Rebecca, are not mentioned, but only those women whose characters are highly offensive to Jewish, and in three cases out of four to every human, feeling. The name of Tamar (1. 3) reminds us of a most awful chapter in the history of the Patriarchs (Gen. 38.). Rahab was not only a heathen, but every Jew and Jewish Christian mentally added that bad epithet to her name which Christian teachers also in ancient times did not spare her (Jas. 2. 25; Heb. 11. 31). Ruth (1. 5) appears to us as a lovable character; to the Jews she remains a Moabitish heathen. Solomon's mother is not even mentioned by name, but is only called the wife of Uriah (1. 6), by whose murder David sealed his adultery. What is the meaning of these shameful blots in the pre-historic and historic accounts of the Davidic house, whose genealogical tree was brought to perfection in Jesus the Christ, the noblest shoot? Why must Mary allow herself to be added as the fifth to these four women? As it is

plain that the Evangelist had no blasphemous intention there remains only one imaginable reason for these statements—the same apologetic purpose which governs his account of the Conception and Birth of Jesus. He would say to the Jews and to those Christians who were still affected by their attacks, as follows: “Suppose that all were true which Jewish hatred has invented about the beginning of Jesus’ life, the Jew who does not allow those dark passages in the history of the house of David to disturb his faith in it as the history of a Divine Revelation still waiting for its fulfilment, has also no right, because of those unwarrantable accusations against Mary and her Son, to keep himself afar from Jesus, and to allow himself to be embittered against Him. Those well-known Jewish blasphemies<sup>1</sup> did not arise from the reading of Matthew 1. Just the reverse was the case. The Evangelist knew of them before, and refutes them in that chapter scarcely less distinctly than he opposes in chapter 28. 11–15 the Jewish slander that the disciples of Jesus had stolen His body from the grave. Whoever cannot decide, as S. Reimarus did with reference to the Resurrection, to accept the Jewish as the original and true account, and on the other hand to explain the Evangelist’s narrative to be an apologetic fiction, must be prepared on the contrary to acknowledge the connection between the two narratives, if indeed he be capable of honest thought. The Jewish assertion that Jesus was an unlawful son of Mary, which St. Matthew assumes to be universally known, is as certainly a caricature of the Christian tradition of the Miraculous Conception as the Jewish fable in Matthew 28. 15 is a caricature of the Apostolic preaching of the Resurrection of Jesus. How old and how well known the Christian tradition must have been in Palestine if the Jewish caricature was so widely spread at the time St. Matthew’s

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Laible, *Jesus Christ in the Talmud* (1891) pp. 9–39, (p. 7 Eng. trans.).

Gospel was written, that the Evangelist deemed it necessary at the beginning of his book to oppose it so decidedly.

But there is no question here of a narrative undeniably known in the most diverse districts long before the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke were written. It was believed in especially by the Christians in Palestine, and known also to the Jews there, who distorted the narrative by the most hateful fictions. Just as the account of the Flight into Egypt gave rise to Jewish misrepresentations, so the unanimous and unambiguous accounts of all the four Evangelists of the Feeding of the Five Thousand have not protected that story from the most foolish rationalizing attacks of our theologians. According to the Evangelists, who relate the wonderful beginning of Jesus' life, this is in very deed the foundation of His Divine Sonship. St. Luke says this distinctly (l. 35 ; cf. l. 32). Consequently he would have the heavenly call at the Baptism and at the Transfiguration understood not as declaring Jesus to be the Son of God, but as a repeated confirmation and loud proclamation of His Divine Sonship, which had been grounded in His Conception and Birth. This Divine Sonship is represented as the real condition of Jesus in opposition to His supposed relationship to Joseph (Luke 3. 22, 23). St. Matthew takes the same view. Jesus is first called the Son of God in chapter 2. 15, but he gives the reader no other ground for the statement than the narrative in chapter 1. 18-25. St. John calls the Saviour for the first time the Son of God, and indeed the Only-begotten, namely in a peculiar sense (see above, p. 53), after he has said: "The Word was made flesh." Though St. John has said nothing in chapter 1. 1-13 of the Generation of the Logos from God as a pre-temporal act, on which the Church has speculated so profoundly, there is nevertheless no doubt that Jesus was for Him the only Son of God in the fullest sense, because He who was with God from



all eternity, at an appointed time in history became in the body living man. While the other children and sons of God have become so by virtue of their believing adherence to Jesus and in the strength of the power bestowed on them by Jesus after having formerly stood in a very different relationship to God (1. 12f.), Jesus is the Son of God because He came forth from God and became Man. And just because this "first-born among many brethren" (Rom. 8. 29; cf. John 20. 17) is the Son of God by birth and by nature, and not like them by being born again of grace and penitent faith, therefore He is the Only-begotten.

St. John relates as little as St. Mark does of the Birth and Childhood of Jesus. Even more plainly than St. Mark he avoids entering into a full account of the life of Jesus. When he begins to relate (1. 19) he places us at once at the height of the activity of the Baptist. Important events, like the Baptism of Jesus and His growth at Nazareth, come to light only incidentally, and are taken for granted (1. 32-34, 45). Therefore there is in his Gospel no definite account directly referring to the mode in which the Only-begotten became Man. Nevertheless no uncertainty exists as to what he thought about it. The Logos has *become* flesh as men *are* flesh. But He is also the Son of God, and indeed from His Birth. He could not have been this if He, like other men, had been the production of human nature, which propagates itself. Men are thus flesh by nature, and only subsequently, through the new birth, given by God, become the children of God. If He is from birth in an extraordinary and unique sense what the other children of men become in the course of their lives by virtue of a power given them by Christ, and in the sense of a drawing near to Him which reaches on into eternity (1 John 3. 2), His Birth must stand in an extraordinary sense for that for which

their second birth stands. But St. John has expressed himself most fully on the latter point immediately before the sentence about the Logos becoming flesh (1. 13), and he has united by means of an "and" the two statements that the children of men became the children of God, and the Logos became living Man, and at the same time the Only-begotten Son of God. The parallel is so startling that in the earliest times and in the most remote districts it was supposed that verse 13 referred directly to the Generation of Christ, and the text was altered in consequence.<sup>1</sup> No intelligent person would now think of pronouncing this altered text to be the original. But the impression, from which the alteration in the text arose, was right and is inevitable—that the Evangelist had in his mind the narratives of the Conception and Birth of the Son of God when he wrote his account of the begetting of the children of God. Why was he not content to say that man did not become the child of God by natural birth nor by a repetition of that birth, if such had been possible (cf. 3. 4-6), but only through the power of a new life proceeding directly from God? The express denial of the will of man in particular, as a co-operating factor in the begetting of the children of God, has never been credibly explained by any one who has denied the conscious reference in an extraordinary sense to the Conception and Birth of the Son of God. It is not, however, sufficient to acknowledge that here, as in numberless other passages in his book, the youngest Evangelist had in his mind and took into consideration the older

<sup>1</sup> Irenæus (III. 16, 2; 19, 2; V. 1, 3), and Tertullian (*De carne*, 19), both of whom had only a Greek New Testament in their hands, knew no other text than that which was otherwise only supported by Latin witnesses for John 1. 13 ("qui . . . natus est"). If one compares the context and the quotation in Iren. III. 19, 2 with Just. *Dial.* 63, one can hardly doubt that Justin had this reading. Tertullian seeks to prove that the text now generally recognised, and maintained by the Valentinians, is unreasonable.

traditions as recorded by the Synoptists. He has justified them and adhered to them by describing the origin of the later-born children of God in accordance with the Christian tradition of the Conception and Birth of the true and, in the fullest sense of the word, only Son of God. If St. John here, in the very introduction to his book, gives us to understand what he thinks of the Incarnation of the eternal Logos, and of the coincident Becoming of the Only-begotten, it is plain that he does not represent the event differently in the prologue and all the later statements,—his own in his Epistles and Gospel, and those of Jesus on the sending and coming of the Son of God from God, or from heaven, into this world. It was not necessary that he should tell his Christian readers that, on the first day of his meeting with Jesus, St. Philip did not know all that the community acknowledged about their Lord.<sup>1</sup> They said so themselves.

That there ever was a community in Apostolic times, whose faith was fixed on Jesus the son of Joseph, is an hypothesis which has been long exploded by all historical testimony. It is one which can never be proved. No one took a larger part than St. Paul in the founding of the communities in which we already find early in the second century that faith in the Son of the Virgin universally prevailed. He has not related the history of Jesus anywhere in his Epistles. But in the single passage where he refers in a few words to the historical circumstances under which God sent His Son into the world, besides God who is His Father he mentions only the woman who bare Him, and the law under which He was placed by His birth (Gal. 6. 4). St. Paul does not say here "born of a Virgin" but "born of a woman." The former would have been

<sup>1</sup> John 1. 45; cf. the omission of a correction in 7. 42; on the other side, however, 6. 42.

most unsuitably applied here, for he does not want to accentuate the difference of the Son of God from other men, but rather the likeness between His condition and position and the condition of those whom He was to save, and chiefly of the Israelites who were under the law and its curse. Therefore all the more imperatively an answer is demanded to the question: Why does St. Paul here only mention the mother when it is plain that it was much more decisive for the subjection of Jesus to the Mosaic law to which the context refers that He should have been born and have grown up the son of an Israelitish man?<sup>1</sup> Plainly because in the thought of St. Paul there was no room for Joseph as the father of Jesus beside His heavenly Father. It is said, or rather has been said during the last few generations, that St. Paul, like all the Evangelists and the Apocalypse, acknowledges the Davidic descent of Jesus, but Jesus' Davidic descent is transmitted through Joseph, not through Mary, of whose descent the Scriptures say nothing. The genealogies (Matt. 1., Luke 3.) make this quite plain, for they are traced down to Joseph, not to Mary. But if Jesus is not the son of Joseph after the flesh, then He cannot be really the son of David, and a fundamental article of the Apostolic Confession is purely imaginary. All this is quite true with the exception of the fraudulent conclusion. The oldest witnesses to be obtained for the Davidic descent of Jesus, which show this connection in a genealogy—St. Matthew and St. Luke—both say quite distinctly that Jesus as the son of Joseph was the son of David, and that He was Joseph's son not because He was begotten of him, but because He was born of Mary, the lawful wife of Joseph. As this connection was sufficient for the Lord Himself in His working among the people, so that His bitterest antagonists never denied His Davidic descent during His lifetime, and thus cut the ground from

<sup>1</sup> Timothy, the son of a Jewish mother, was an uncircumcised heathen.

beneath His feet, it sufficed for the Evangelists also.<sup>1</sup> How can it be proved that this was not the original view of the Christian community, and that a yet older generation had done homage to the coarse view that the historical right of Jesus to appear amongst His people as the Messiah depended upon the fact that the blood of David flowed in His veins? We must draw on our imagination, or, as Irenæus<sup>2</sup> so strikingly expresses it, "read books that have never been written," if we wish the history of Christendom to be other than that offered to us at its source.

To the same category belongs also the statement that the fact in question did not form a component part of the original proclamation of the gospel. We know, it is true, that Jesus, the first to proclaim the gospel, did not begin His preaching to His people by saying, "Do not take Me for the son of Joseph." He did not generally begin His preaching by speaking of Himself at all, but with the proclamation of the near approach and of the coming with Him of the kingdom of God. But how soon the Person of the King's Son, who was at the same time the preacher of the Kingdom of God, stands forth from the background which concealed Him during the first public preaching! This is true of Him not only as King of the kingdom, and Judge of the world, but also of His Person in relation to God and to man. That which is begotten and born of the flesh (for both are included in the Greek expression) needs repentance and the new birth in order to gain an entrance into the kingdom of God. The King's Son and the Heir of the kingdom needs neither, because He is not a production of the human race, which propagates itself, but the Son of God, who *is* in heaven, who descended from thence,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps I should have done better to refer to the small but classical treatise by Hoffmann (*Protest. u. Kirche*, XXII. [1851] p. 114), in place of my remarks above. What has been said against my own investigations in the *Forschungen*, I. 264 ff. gives no occasion to make any corrections.

<sup>2</sup> 1. 8, 1.

and who is born into the world.<sup>1</sup> If Jesus was unable wholly to keep silence about this heavenly background of His earthly existence from those who, like a Nicodemus, were afar off, and did not seem fully prepared for it, who can gauge how He spoke of it to His disciples, who thankfully confirm it by saying that He had openly spoken to them of His coming forth from God? The Fourth Gospel adheres in the opening to the Synoptic tradition of the beginning of the life of Jesus. It preserves for us many of the disciples' questions and requests for explanations. That it has not also preserved amongst them those which referred to His natural relationship to Joseph and Mary, is no proof that an anxious silence on it was preserved when the company of the disciples were gathered round their Master. If from the sermons in the Acts of the Apostles we can form some idea of the mode in which the gospel was preached to the unbelieving, we may venture to say that a narrative of that which preceded the appearance of the Baptist and the Baptism of Jesus did not regularly belong to the elements of the first missionary preaching.<sup>2</sup> Every sensible missionary will strive first to awaken consciences and allure hearts to believe. He will not begin with that which only requires faith, which if addressed to those who are afar off when they are not prepared for it would not only invite contradiction and mockery, but would be also utterly worthless. Yet to the original Gospel belongs all that was said of Jesus in the second and tenth chapters in the sermon addressed to these men, besides that which was made known to the newly baptized in the "doctrine of the Apostles" (Acts 2. 42). We do not know exactly what was included in those first articles of Christian instruction, some of which St. Paul

<sup>1</sup> Cf. John 3. 3-16; 8. 14-30, 55-58; 10. 30-38; 16. 28 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 2. 14-36; 8. 12-26; 10. 34-43; 13. 16-41. Less to the point are Acts 14. 15-17; 17. 22-31.

enumerates for some special cause (1 Cor. 15, 3). And even if the teaching on the beginning of the life of Jesus was not included in the first articles, but was reserved for the instruction of the inner circle of Christians already baptized and confirmed in the faith (1 Cor. 2. 6), we are by no means therefore to suppose that it was, in the opinion of the Apostles, quite immaterial what was thought of the origin of the Man Jesus. On the contrary we know that there were no differences of opinion about the Person of Jesus amongst the communities of Apostolic times, or, as was then said, amongst those who "called upon the name of Jesus."<sup>1</sup> They could not have existed without leaving some trace in literature. Any such thing is entirely wanting. St. Paul himself assures even very questionable Jewish Christian missionaries that they preach no other Jesus than he preached.<sup>2</sup> This also proves that the existence of an original Christianity without faith in Jesus the Son of God, born of a Virgin, is a fiction of which surely no one need be proud.

THEOD. ZAHN.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. 1. 2; Rom. 10. 12-14; Acts 1. 14, 21. Cf. my lecture on *Prayers to Jesus in the Apostolic Age* (1885). I speak of communities. Some there were in Apostolic times who did not "call on the Lord out of a pure heart" (2 Tim. 2. 22). Among them were those who were led into mistakes by false teaching on the Person of Christ. Cf. 1 John 2. 18-23; 4. 1-3; 5. 5-12; 2 John 7.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. 11. 4; cf. Phil. 1. 14-18.

## *THE INCARNATION AND JUDGMENT.*

### I.

"And hath given Him authority to execute judgment, because He is the Son of man."—*John v. 27.*

NOTHING is more remarkable than the utter absence of any sense of real failure, much less despair, in our Lord.

Writers who love to speak about His "moods" and His "discouragements" ought to ask where, in all that He said about His coming sufferings, did He omit to make mention of the glory that should follow.

He was as certain that He should rise again as that He should die; and however we reckon or explain the mention of "three days," not to say "three days and nights," one thing is abundantly evident, that the difficulty they involve would not exist if the predictions were later than the event, a product of the brooding imagination of the Church.

He did not fail, nor was He discouraged; and this may help us, who think He shared all our innocent sorrows, to judge whether this cup that He rejected is not really due to a failure of faith in God.

So buoyant was the confidence of our Lord, not only in His destiny, but in His absolute and perfect acceptance, hourly, before God, that His daily human existence, His life in "the days of His flesh," was aware that He alone among the sons of men should not be brought into judgment. Not only so, but it was before Him that all nations should be gathered; the Father should judge no man except through Him. Of whatever He then "emptied Himself," this thrilling consciousness remained undimmed. And all this the Synoptic Gospels declare at least as plainly as St. John.

The text goes further still.

It declares that the Incarnation of Jesus is the very

reason why He shall be our Judge. The Father hath given Him authority to execute judgment, not because He is the Son of God, and therefore sufficiently wise, but because He is the Son of man, and therefore in His hands the judgment of human lives will assume a profounder meaning.

I. In the first place, God's plan for our recovery from the fall would not be completed unless it were man who subdues the rebellion of mankind. We fell, not by the violence of Satan, but by his persuasion, seducing us. And therefore, as many scriptures indicate, God has willed that His dominion should be restored to Him, and the ravages of the fall recovered, not by His overwhelming power, but by His influence over man, penetrating, supplanting the tempter's evil influence, and not so much conquering human nature as enabling it to conquer.

Therefore He sent forth his Son, born of a woman, born under the law, to redeem them that are under the law.

"Since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection from the dead, for as in Adam all die, so in Christ (equally Man) shall all be made alive." And in pursuit of this thought, namely, of the recovery from the fall being by man, we read that Christ as man shall reign till all things are put under His feet, and only then shall surrender the kingdom to God, even the Father, that man's share in the empire may be ended, and God be all in all.

There is indeed a tremendous majesty in this revealed fact, that at the close of the mighty conflict, in the hour of

The ending of the days and ways of men,  
The shaking of the sources of the sea—

when the King shall deal out fate to those on His right hand and His left, saying, "Come, ye blessed," and "Depart, ye cursed"—when the last crime shall be avenged, the last evil crushed, the fetters of the last oppression stricken off the

limbs of the last sufferer for righteousness in all the universe, then the final buffet, the conclusive vindication, shall be dealt by our Captain, who leads us now ; and the King, enthroned and crowned, shall be the same whose visage was more marred than that of any man ; and a son of our race, so long tempted and bewildered and misled, shall speak the final sentence, and pronounce the supreme vindication of all righteousness after having endured the supreme injustice, and shall restore to His Father at last the sceptre of a recovered and obedient universe.

II. Again, the fact that the Son of man shall be the Judge demolishes at one stroke the whole cobweb of excuses and special pleas by which men make little of their sins.

We all know that it is not sin which tempts us, but some sweetness, for the sake of which we dip our hands in sin. Else how could our Lord have been tempted? He could not be allured by evil. But He could be and was attracted by relief from hunger, by recognition as miraculous, and by a boundless dominion. These blameless and desirable things attracted Him toward the ambush, the lurking place where sin lay hidden. Their attraction was innocent and inevitable ; and yet sin would have begun if, for the sake of them, He had consented to move one step toward meeting the evil in the road to them.

Now we fancy that our own temptation, the one which is able to press us hardest, presses too hard for flesh and blood to endure.

Looking at other sinners, it seems quite another thing ; we are not, we persuade ourselves, like them ; because, when temptation assails ourselves, our senses and our imagination are excited by the tempter's bribe : the air is laden as with intoxicating odours ; our ears are importuned by siren whispers ; and all the splendour of the forbidden fruit dazzles us. We do not think it very bad to yield to so great a strain—or rather the question of badness is quite

forgotten in the rush of a sudden impulse, or under the slow, incessant, wearying urgency of desire. And even when conscience calls our action by its true name—"sin," while admitting that the epithet may, to some extent, apply, we are still reluctant to plead guilty to all that this ugly word implies.

It follows that, if God as God were to judge us, we should bitterly resent the difference between His view of things, from the light inaccessible, and our experience of them, when plunged in a sea of temptation and evil example, with all bad influences foaming and roaring around and over us, where He that is righteous maketh Himself a prey.

Vaguely and in an abstract way we might own ourselves guilty; but always there would be some lurking underthought: Thou art a hard master, demanding the impossible, reaping where Thou hast not sown, and gathering where Thou hast not strawn.

But who shall dare to say this to Jesus? Who shall urge the stress and allurements of desire before Him who refused all the kingdoms of the world and their glory? or plead the dread of pain before Him, who at the beginning, famishing with forty days of fast, refused bread; and at the end—haunted by such a doom that again and again He drew His disciples apart to tell them of it, but they could not understand nor think it more than figure and parable—steadfastly set His face, and went forward, wrung with the agony of the garden to the horror and shame of the scourging and the cross, the anguish of spiritual desertion, and the ignominy of the tomb? Is it to Him that we dare falter out our poor excuses, born of cowardice, oversoftness, greed of this world, forgetfulness of Him, and of God?

Or shall we plead that He brought to His task an unpolluted manhood, while ours is tainted from the fall, and ask how can the children of wrath emulate His obedience and His self-denial?

But was it not for this very purpose that He took our nature, to redeem us from the fall, that where sin abounded grace should much more abound?

Has He not undone, explicitly and verbally, this excuse of our weak flesh and blood, by offering His Flesh to be meat and His Blood to be drink indeed—His humanity to be within us the fountain of a new and victorious manhood, Christ living in us?

Well, then, if all such pleas must needs be silent, one day, before His throne, shall we not cease to urge these abject excuses now?

This is our second point, that in the judgment, by the Incarnation of our Judge, all the defences of the ungodly shall be utterly broken down.

III. Lastly, the announcement that Christ is Judge, made beforehand, removes from His own people all the terrors of that great day.

Except in Christ, it may be said that God is still remote from us. No man hath seen Him at any time; the only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him. Only as revealed in Christ can man acquaint himself with Him and be at peace.

And thus it is not before God, the august, spiritual, changeless Inhabitant of Eternity, that we could willingly stand at last, without a Mediator, when the priestly office is at an end, to give a reckoning of resolutions half kept, a pilgrimage full of halts and wanderings, of frail virtues, and a trembling faith.

Let us thank Him that He has willed that at the last it is before our Saviour we shall stand.

"I remember," we shall say, "the careless, unregenerate worldly days. But these I brought to Thee; and Thou didst wash them out in Thine own blood.

"I remember many a failure, many a transgression since. But for all these Thou wast my Priest and Advocate,

Thou knewest them, and for Thy merit they were forgiven, and peace and joy were poured into my fainting heart anew.

"My very services have been weak and unworthy, my prayers wandering, my love of Thee most cold—I confess it all—but yet, wast Thou not with me when the poor prayer was answered, and the heart warmed? Wast Thou not a hand to strengthen and a voice to cheer me at the worst—always my Saviour, my Companion, and my Friend? Master, it is not THOU Who wilt ever reproach me with these again."

G. A. DERRY.

### ARE THERE TWO EPISTLES IN 2 CORINTHIANS?

#### A REPLY.

DR. KENNEDY's articles in the *EXPOSITOR* for September and October afford an excellent example of an argument based solely on internal evidence. I hope to be able to show that the phenomena presented by 2 Corinthians do not really support his theory, that two epistles have in this case been clumsily joined together; but although his reasonings do not bring conviction, one learns as much from studying the methods of inquiry adopted by so acute a scholar as if the result were true.

Dr. Kennedy grants at the outset that there is not a shred of external testimony from either MSS., Versions, or Christian writers, that the integrity of 2 Corinthians was ever doubted until the days of Semler in the 18th century. This is the more noteworthy if we bear in mind that archetypal defects, and omissions due to varying authentic editions, have left their traces in extant MSS. Thus the loss from some MSS. and Versions of the last verses of St. Mark's Gospel is very probably due to the fact that the first copy which reached Alexandria had lost the last page. Dr. Salmon (*Some Criticism of the Text of the New Test.*, p.

145), points out how some such accident may explain the otherwise inexplicable religious position of the Alexandrian Apollos, who "taught carefully the things concerning Jesus," while yet "knowing only the baptism of John" (Acts xviii. 25). The omission of important matter, in some MSS., in the last chapters of St. Luke, the variations in the place of the doxology in Romans, and the omission of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in Ephesians i. 1, are other well-known examples.

Dr. Kennedy accordingly, in order to account for this silence of the early authorities, puts forward a theory that these two epistles were, on account of their painful nature, not copied at once, but laid by in the archives of the Church of Corinth, and not published for a considerable time. So that when the first fair copy was being made for general publication, the originals had already fallen to pieces from age, and perhaps rough handling, and the scribe made one epistle by piecing together the beginning of one letter and the end of another. Now if 1 Corinthians had been similarly suppressed, an epistle which, however edifying, yet brands the recipients of it with such shocking scandals as encouraging incest and profaning the Eucharist, we might then accept Dr. Kennedy's theory as a plausible explanation of the non-publication of the Epistle 2 Corinthians x.-xiii.; but surely one would expect that the Corinthians would have been only too anxious to publish the rehabilitation of their character which is contained in the other Epistle (2 Cor. i.-ix.).

We are not, however, altogether dependent on *a priori* arguments for the early publication, and consequently for the integrity, of 2 Corinthians. The short Epistle of Polycarp, which quotes from nine of St. Paul's Epistles, has three distinct references to 2 Corinthians, and there is a slight presumption that Clement of Rome, who quotes 1 Corinthians explicitly, had also 2 Corinthians as well as the other extant Pauline epistles bound up in the same volume. This

presumption is based on a fact—the significance of which has not hitherto been noticed—that in all Greek MSS. and Versions, with one exception, St. Paul's undoubted Epistles are invariably placed in the same order. That order is roughly according to length. But in the case of thirteen distinct letters, one of which at least, that to Philemon, can never have circulated separately, it is impossible to suppose that if this order had not been prescribed by an authorized first edition, other principles of arrangement would not have recommended themselves to the various churches and editors. D<sub>2</sub> places Colossians next to the cognate Epistle to the Ephesians. If the present order had not been of primordial antiquity, we should have had many such variations, and probably larger and smaller collections of the Epistles.

This consideration, then, affords a presumption that the extant Epistles of St. Paul were always in one volume from the time that the Church recognised them as of general and permanent interest and value.

I have thought it best to notice at the outset the antecedent improbability of Dr. Kennedy's theory as to the manner in which 2 Corinthians was first given to the world at large. But whatever opinion may be held as to the value of the considerations just urged for the early *publication* of the letter, my objection to his main theory as to the *integrity* of 2 Corinthians is in no way affected thereby. My contention is that all the subtle reasoning from internal evidence by which his theory is supported is vitiated by a false assumption as to the purpose of the Epistle.

Dr. Kennedy insists on the sharpness of the opposition between 2 Cor. i.-ix. and x.-xiii. He dwells on what seems to him the cheerful tone of the first part of the Epistle, with its keynote *παράκλησις*, and the "torrent of indignation and pathos" which meets us in the second half of the letter.

This contrast would indeed be an astonishing one if, as Dr. Kennedy assumes, the same persons were addressed from the same standpoints in both sections of the letter. But the truth is that the same persons are in these two parts addressed from totally different points of view, the motive of the first part of the letter being the repentance of the Corinthians for their immorality and profanity, the theme of the second being the increased encouragement which at the same time they were giving to the party who depreciated the apostolic character of St. Paul.

St. Paul was a man not only of intense feelings and vigorous powers of expression, but also of fair mind and consummate tact. When giving praise or blame he never confuses issues; he is always ready to give hearty praise for actions in the least degree commendable; he is not prevented from censuring for blameworthy conduct those whose actions in other respects he has just lauded. Like Brutus in the play, he discriminates: "As Cæsar loved me I weep for him, as he was fortunate I rejoice at it, as he was valiant I honour him, but as he was ambitious I slew him." This characteristic is especially noticeable in 1 Corinthians, where an outburst of thanks to God for the grace which was given the Corinthians is followed immediately by a severe reproof for their factiousness (i. 4-17). Again, the denunciation of their profanation of the Eucharist is ushered in by "Now I praise you that ye remember me in all things, and hold fast the traditions, even as I delivered them to you" (xi. 2). The contrast between the tone of 2 Corinthians i.-ix. and that of x.-xiii. is not one whit more startling than those I have cited from 1 Corinthians. The note of indignation is indeed more intense and sustained, but that will not seem surprising when we bear in mind the circumstances under which it was written.

It may be well to give an outline of these, leaving objections to be noticed afterwards.

Very shortly before the date of Acts xix. 20 St. Paul, while at Ephesus, received a letter from the Corinthian Church asking for guidance on certain practical questions (1 Cor. vii. 1, 25; viii. 1), and about the same time he learnt from other sources of the scandals that were defiling the Church (1 Cor. i. 11; v. 1; vi. 1; xi. 18). St. Paul then wrote 1 Corinthians, and sent it by Titus and an unnamed brother (2 Cor. xii. 18). That Titus was the bearer of 1 Corinthians seems conclusively proved by 2 Corinthians viii. 6, where he is said to have "made a beginning before" in the matter of the collection, which can only have been by exhorting the Corinthians by word of mouth to follow the directions regarding the weekly offering, which are given for the first time by St. Paul in 1 Corinthians xvi. 1 *sqq.* After the riot at Ephesus, which is plainly alluded to in 2 Corinthians i. 8, St. Paul left Ephesus for Macedonia, as intimated 1 Corinthians xvi. 5. He expected that Titus would join him at Troas with news of the effect of 1 Corinthians. In this he was disappointed, but they met somewhere in Macedonia, 2 Corinthians ii. 12, 13. The news that Titus brought was partly joyful and partly sad. It was not that there was "a repentant majority and a rebellious minority," but that while recognising the justice of St. Paul's remonstrance about their ill behaviour, at least so far as the case of incest was concerned (2 Cor. ii. 6-11; vii. 8-12), they were at the same time giving ear to those who opposed his apostolic character. The improvement in morals was almost counterbalanced by an alarming spread of disloyalty to the apostle himself. This condition of things explains 2 Corinthians i. 14, "Ye did acknowledge us in part"; x. 6, "when your obedience shall be fulfilled."

The Judaistic party, which falsely used the names of Peter and James, and which had been only one of many factions when 1 Corinthians was written (1 Cor. i. 12), had

by this time gained the upper hand in Corinth, and were loudly depreciating St. Paul's apostolic character on every ground, personal and official. For such a rapid development of an anti-Pauline party we have many parallels in the Acts. The Judaizers ever dogged the heels of the apostle, and too often succeeded in alienating from him his spiritual children (see Gal. i. 6 ; iv. 19). The situation revealed by the coming of Titus was felt, and rightly felt, by St. Paul to be a critical one. Looking back on that time, we can see that the permanent discrediting of Paul and the triumph of his opponents would have been fatal to the very existence of the Catholic Church ; can we doubt that the inspired apostle knew this too ? It was no mere question of the relative personal dignity and privilege of Paul and James or Peter ; it was a matter of life and death to the Gospel itself. It was while thus profoundly agitated that St. Paul wrote the Epistle before us. Dr. Kennedy quotes Dr. Plummer's remarks on the style. "Both narrative and sentences are often involved and broken. There is throughout a want of ease and smoothness." Dr. Kennedy quotes this as specially suiting chapters x.-xiii., which he identifies with the Epistle "written with many tears, out of much affliction and anguish of heart" (2 Cor. ii. 4). But as a matter of fact, it is more descriptive of chapters i.-ix. It is in these chapters we find the most involved and broken sentences. "To be wroth with one we love, doth work like madness in the brain." Under what Dr. Kennedy calls the cheerful tone of the first nine chapters one can feel the throbbing of the apostle's heart, the tempest of conflicting emotions. In these chapters there is no allusion whatever to the attacks on his apostolate. St. Paul, as usual, eagerly seizes on the hopeful feature of the case, the repentance of the Corinthians for their more scandalous sins. Having shown at length the depth of his love for them, and even assuming by his renewed

directions about the collection that "their obedience would be fulfilled," he then puts forth all his strength in one final vindication of his apostolic character. Accordingly in these chapters x.-xiii. there is no allusion to anything else, except perhaps in xii. 21, where we have a quite natural outburst of warmth. After all their seeming repentance and his acceptance of it, it might well be that disloyalty and impurity went hand in hand. "I should mourn for many of them that have sinned heretofore, and repented not of the uncleanness and fornication and lasciviousness which they committed."

To this sketch of the circumstances under which 2 Corinthians was written, there are objections which I shall now deal with in detail. I have stated that the anti-Paulinism indicated in 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. is of a much more advanced type than that indicated in 1 Corinthians. But it may be objected that St. Paul was aware of antagonism to him as an apostle when he wrote in 1 Corinthians ix. 1, "Am I not free? am I not an apostle?" etc. St. Paul, of course, knew that the Corinthians had heard of opposition to him on this ground, but the context proves that he yet felt sure of their loyalty to him: "If to others I am not an apostle, yet at least I am to you." Besides this, a perusal of the rest of the chapter shows that the insistence here on his apostolic claims to support is introduced as an additional reason why they should contribute to the collection for Jerusalem which he had in view; as though to hint that the money which he had a right to receive, but which he had not taken from them, should be given instead to the poor saints at Jerusalem. In support of this view it is worth noting that one of the arguments by which he urges the reasonableness of his claim to maintenance (1 Cor. ix. 11) is repeated in identical terms in Romans xv. 27, when he is pleading the claims of Jerusalem on the Gentiles.

The sketch I have given above implies a short interval

between the writing of the two Epistles to the Corinthians. A serious objection to this is based on the commonly received idea that there were two visits to Corinth before the sending of 2 Corinthians. Alford sees rightly that the narrative in Acts, when taken in its obvious meaning, leaves no room for a visit between the sending of 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians; not to add that such a visit would imply a prolonged encouragement of incest by the Corinthians, which is scarcely credible. Alford accordingly dates this second visit before 1 Corinthians. Dr. Kennedy, on the other hand, correctly points out that the language of 1 Corinthians precludes the idea of a second visit having been paid since St. Paul had first preached there, and he accordingly dates the second visit after the sending of the Epistle of which 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. is the end. This is a vital point with him, for it implies the considerable interval between 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. which his theory demands. Let us examine the evidence alleged in favour of this second visit, and we shall see that there is really no necessity for supposing that it ever took place at all.

At the outset it may be noted that if the language of 1 Corinthians ii. 1; iii. 2; xi. 2, proves that no second visit preceded the writing of that Epistle, the same conclusion may fairly be drawn from the language of 2 Corinthians xi. 9.

To come, however, to the positive proofs for a second visit. The strongest text is 2 Corinthians xiii. 1, "This is the third time I am coming to you," *τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς*. This seems plain enough when taken by itself; but whatever it means, it must mean the same as chapter xii. 14, "This is the third time I am ready to come to you," *τρίτον τοῦτο ἐτοίμως ἔχω ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*. Strange language to use if he had really been at Corinth twice before! The mystery, however, is cleared up if we turn

back to chapter i. 15, 16, where St. Paul explains that his original intention had been to pay the Corinthians two visits before returning to Jerusalem, *i.e.* he intended to sail from Ephesus direct to Corinth, to go up thence to Macedonia, down again to Corinth, and thence to Palestine. This original intention was altered in consequence of the scandalous reports he had heard, and the change of plan was in his mind when in 1 Corinthians xvi. 5 he markedly repeats "for I do pass through Macedonia."

St. Paul's *intended third visit* would have been paid from Macedonia, and he here identifies with that visit the visit that he was now on the point of paying them from Macedonia. But it may be demanded, why should he call in any sense a third visit that which really was a second? Well, in the first place, his meaning could not be misunderstood by the Corinthians, and he may have desired to emphasize the fact that it was the third visit as far as his wishes were concerned, especially as he had used the phrase "a second benefit" in chapter i. 15. And, again, this way of speaking would give a special appositeness to the text which he proceeds to quote, "At the mouth of two witnesses or three shall every word be established." It is true that the R.V. of 2 Corinthians xiii. 2, "As when I was present the second time," supports the other view; yet the A.V. (R.V. marg.) "As if I were present the second time" is the translation adopted by De Wette, Davidson, Stanley, and Wordsworth, names which cannot be lightly set aside.

If the above explanation be accepted, we shall not find much difficulty in 2 Corinthians ii. 1, "I determined that I would not come again to you with sorrow"; which, referring as it does to his original intention before 1 Corinthians was written, simply means, "I determined that my second visit should be with joy as was my first."

Dr. Kennedy emphasizes ἀπὸ πέρουςι, rendered by R.V.

in 2 Corinthians viii. 10 "a year ago," and in ix. 2 "for a year past," as implying the long interval which his theory requires. But ἀπὸ πέρυσσι may very well be rendered "last year," a term that we might use in February when speaking of something that had taken place in the previous November or December, especially when, as in these places, the writer's intention is to make the most of the interval that had elapsed.

Again, Dr. Kennedy lays stress on the fact that the plans indicated in Acts xix. 21 and Romans do not accord with the indefinite statements of 1 Corinthians xvi. 3, 4, 6. It is sufficient to say in reply that if 1 Corinthians was sent, as I believe it to have been, with much uncertainty in the writer's mind as to its probable effect, it is not to be expected that St. Paul would clearly disclose all the details of his future movements.

It remains to examine Dr. Kennedy's four marks of identification of 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. with the Epistle referred to in 2 Corinthians ii. 4. I have already pointed out that Dr. Kennedy's own quotation from Dr. Plummer shows that this suits 2 Corinthians i.-ix. equally well. But the truth is that Dr. Kennedy forgets that tears rose much more easily to the eyes of an Oriental of the first century than to ours. St. Paul twice tells the Ephesian elders that while with them he had "served the Lord with . . . tears." "I ceased not to admonish every one night and day with tears" (Acts xx. 19, 31). Again, in Philippians iii. 18: "Many walk, of whom I . . . now tell you even weeping, that they are the enemies of the cross of Christ." Did these people do anything worse than winking at incest, profaning the Eucharist, denying the resurrection of the body?

His second mark of identification has been already answered by my contention that in 2 Corinthians the same persons are addressed all through, but on two distinct counts.

With regard to the third mark, while it is quite true that 2 Corinthians iii. 1, v. 12, would suit 2 Corinthians x.-xiii. better than 1 Corinthians if there were any other sufficient ground to believe that it ever was part of a distinct epistle, yet in 1 Corinthians ix. we have a passage of considerable length in which St. Paul dwells in detail on the personal sacrifice he had made. And as for Dr. Kennedy's fourth mark, which seems to him the strongest of all, it, as I have shown above, refers to the original design of the apostle, which design he had ceased to entertain before 1 Corinthians was written.

NEWPORT J. D. WHITE.

### A CRITICISM OF THE NEW CHRONOLOGY OF PAUL.<sup>1</sup>

ONE of the most surprising, and, if established, most important results of the historical criticism of this decade, is the chronology of the life of Paul brought forward in Germany by scholars no less eminent than O. Holtzmann (in his *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, 1895, pp. 125 *seq.*, 248), and F. Blass (*Acta Apost.*, 1895, p. 21 *seq.*), but now most prominently identified with the great name of Harnack, who defends it on partly independent grounds in his *Chronologie der Altchristlichen Literatur*, pp. 233-243. The slightly variant chronology of Ramsay (*Paul the Traveller*, 1896), more fully developed in the *EXPOSITOR* (Series v. vol. iii. pp. 336, and v. 5. pp. 201 *seq.*), and the suggestions of McGiffert in *The American Journal of Theology* (I. i. pp.

<sup>1</sup> I desire to express my obligation to Mr. E. W. Lyman, of Yale Divinity School, for his careful and scholarly work in the examination of all the early sources referred to in this discussion and comparison of their data. The chronology to which our enquiry in common has led up was first suggested as a possibility by him.

145 seq.) and in his *History of the Apostolic Church* (pp. 356 seq.) are for the most part a brilliant corroboration on the part of English and American scholarship of the proposed new chronology. This chronology would carry back the whole series of events in the life of Paul from three to six years in time, beyond the dates long regarded as substantially settled. The older view, *per contra*, cannot be said to lack able defence, in view of the argument of Schürer (*Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, 2. Aufl. I. pp. 483 seq., Engl. transl. I. ii. pp. 182 seq., n. 38), which does not materially differ from that of Lightfoot (*Biblical Essays*, p. 215 ff.), H. Ewald (*History of Israel*, London, 1885, vol. vii. pp. 37-43), and E. D. Burton (*Records and Letters*, Chicago, 1896, Note I.).

The new chronology is a natural accompaniment of the present marked reaction of criticism toward the tradition of the early Church. Not merely was it becoming increasingly difficult under the older chronology to accept or account for traditions such as that of Peter's activity in Rome, and Paul's in Spain, and for the situations presupposed in the Pastoral Epistles, but the early chronologists themselves (Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ed. of Schoene, including the Armenian and Jerome's version, and the Syriac epitome; also the *Chronicon Paschale*, pseudo-Chrysostom, and Euthalius) are, without exception, in favour of dates which, until very lately, were generally condemned as absurdly early. On the other hand, it is hardly needful to refute the preposterous assertion that the dating of the events of Paul's career, including his conversion, from three to six years earlier than has hitherto been customary will necessitate for the critics an entire new interpretation of New Testament history and literature. The question is, however, of importance fully sufficient to justify a careful and impartial scrutiny of the evidence on both sides; for it possesses not only a high intrinsic interest, but, if a really trustworthy chronology of the life of Paul can be obtained,

both an important element of ancient tradition will be confirmed, and the light thus thrown upon the entire history of the apostolic age will be of incalculable value.

We are fortunately guaranteed in one respect against the disappointing result of being obliged to dismiss the fruits of years of critical investigation as valueless. Supporters of both the older and the new chronology are practically at one in their deductions from the Book of Acts and the Pauline Epistles as to the *relative* chronology of the life of Paul. All are agreed that an interval of some five years separates Paul's arrival in Corinth (Acts xviii. 2) from his arrest in Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 17); an interval of two and a half years more his arrest from his departure for Rome, after Felix had been succeeded by Festus and the latter had heard Paul's defence; and one of two and a half years more his departure for Rome from the date when we lose sight of him in the darkness of tradition. Earlier than this ten-year period there is less exact agreement, although substantial unanimity prevails. Ramsay, whose study of the relative chronology is probably the most accurate, allows five and a half years for the first of the periods above mentioned, and very carefully estimates the time required for the so-called "second missionary journey" from Jerusalem to Corinth at one and a half years more, varying here also not more than a month or two from his predecessors. Twelve years are thus sufficient to cover the best known portion of Paul's career as delineated in Acts xv.-xxviii., from the Apostolic Council to the close of the two years' imprisonment in Rome.

It is to this generally accepted twelve-year period that we must add the chronology furnished by Paul himself in Galatians i. and ii. Unfortunately the ambiguity of Galatians ii. 1 seems absolute. It is impossible to say whether the "fourteen years" must be counted from his conversion, or from his first visit to Jerusalem, three years after his

conversion (Gal. i. 18 = Acts ix. 23-30; cf. 2 Cor. xi. 32, 33). Only two of our authorities have attained to certainty on this question of fourteen or seventeen years between Galatians i. 16 and ii. 1. Ramsay insists on the fourteen years period, because he identifies the visit of Galatians ii. 1 with that mentioned in Acts xi. 30; xii. 25 (relief of the sufferers by famine), instead of that of Acts xv. (settlement of the Judaistic controversy). *Seventeen* years before the known date of the famine (45-47 A.D.) would carry the conversion of Paul back beyond the limits of probability. McGiffert, who agrees with the practically unanimous, and in our view irrefutable, verdict of scholarship against Ramsay (cf. Sanday, *EXPOSITOR*, v. 3 pp. 81 *seq.*, and 253 *seq.*), that Acts xv. 1 *seq.*, and Galatians ii. 1 *seq.* cannot possibly refer to different occasions, but are certainly concerned with the same event, adopts the fourteen-year reckoning, because he identifies the visit of Galatians ii. 1 with *both* visits of Acts; that for famine relief in Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, and that for the settlement of the Judaistic agitation in Acts xv. 1 *seq.* In other words, McGiffert holds that these two accounts are merely variant versions of the same event, which the historian failed to recognise as such, and embodied separately in his narrative. With one bold stroke of the critical knife our brilliant young scholar thus cuts the Gordian knot of the harmonizers, explaining how, according to the emphatic declaration of Paul, the visit provoked by the Judaizers can be the *second*; whereas according to Acts it is undeniably the *third*. The theory is not merely bold and seductive, but supported by evidence which cannot be despised; but as presented by its author it excludes one of the two equally possible interpretations of Galatians ii. 1; and this is a serious objection.

The Apostolic Council, therefore, is by all authorities to be dated twelve years, approximately, before the end of the

imprisonment in Rome, and nine years, approximately, before the recall of Felix (Acts xxiv. 27). McGiffert alone, of our authorities, would insist on the shorter interval (fourteen years) between this and Paul's conversion (Gal. ii. 1), leaving but twenty-six years for his entire career as a Christian; for he rejects the theory of a release and second Roman imprisonment. Ramsay, who holds that the Apostolic Council took place later than the events referred to in Galatians ii., adds a third period of four years (*Paul the Traveller*, p. 68) to cover this interval between the twelve years required by Acts xv.-xxviii. and the fourteen required by Galatians ii. 1, leaving thirty years for the career of Paul to the end of the (first) imprisonment. Our other authorities would add to the twelve-year period of Acts either fourteen or seventeen years for the requirement of Galatians, according as other considerations might dictate. Lightfoot argues indeed in favour of the seventeen-year interpretation, both in his Commentary on Galatians (note on ii. 1) and in his *Biblical Essays* (*l.c.*); with the difference, however, that in the latter (dated 1863) he maintains quite strenuously the necessity for taking *μετὰ τριῶν ἐτῶν* (Gal. i. 18) in the literal sense, whereas in the Commentary (1865) he holds that Paul may well have counted both termini, after the usual fashion of antiquity, and allows but *sixteen* years for the whole period. But Lightfoot himself would hardly claim conclusive force for the arguments he advances in behalf of the interpretation involving the longer reckoning. We may say, therefore, with great probability upon a review of all the evidence, Paul's conversion took place at least twenty-six, and quite possibly twenty-eight or twenty-nine, years before the end of the Roman imprisonment, twenty-three to twenty-six years before the recall of Felix. The reckoning of antiquity (Euthalius, quoting the Chronicle of Euseb.; cf. Harn., *Chron.*, p. 234, n. 2) allowed twenty-five years for this period, but took no note of the half-year required for the voyage

to Rome, and probably underestimated the length of the second missionary journey.<sup>1</sup>

With the last-named date we have reached the common starting point of nearly all modern chronologies, which attempt to connect the relative chronology of Paul's life with the general chronology of secular history by means of the synchronisms of the Acts, the Epistles, Josephus, Tacitus and other historians, and thus to make it absolute. In the present paper we shall confine ourselves to this principal synchronism of the recall of Felix, reserving for another occasion our discussion of other proposed points of connection with secular history, and our summing up of the evidence.

Harnack very naturally begins the argument for his *Chronology of Paul* by a quotation from Schürer's masterly review of the evidence in favour of the long accepted date. Says Harnack (*l.c.*): "Everything here [in the fixing of the absolute chronology] depends on the determination of the year in which the procurator Felix was recalled and superseded by Festus. Schürer remarks [*l.c.*]: 'An exact and certain determination of the year in which Felix was recalled is clearly impossible. Most of the recent investigators assume A.D. 60 as the most probable date. Some go a year or two farther back. Only Kellner and v. Weber [references in Schürer, *l.c.*], after the example of some earlier scholars (Bengel, Süsskind, Rettig, on whom see Wieseler *Chronologie des apost. Zeitalters*, p. 72) place the recall of Felix in the very

<sup>1</sup> Ramsay, in his article entitled "A Fixed Date," etc. (*Expositor*, v. 3, p. 342) refers to an oration on Peter and Paul ascribed to Chrysostom (spurious according to Montfaucon, vol. viii., p. 621), wherein it is stated in an incidental way that Paul suffered martyrdom in the sixty-eighth year of his age and the thirty-fifth of his Christian career. This tradition may serve as a confirmation of the testimony of Euthalius, for both doubtless rest upon the chronology of Eusebius, according to which a third period of ten years is added to cover the time from Paul's release until his martyrdom in Rome in the sixty-eighth year of our era, after a second Roman imprisonment (*cf.* Harnack, *l.c.*, p. 241).

beginning of Nero's reign, Kellner: Nov. 54, Weber: summer 55.' "

It seems to be O. Holtzmann to whom we owe the earliest denial of Schürer's dictum and attempt to demonstrate that "an exact and certain determination of the year in which Felix was recalled is *not* impossible. Holtzmann rests exclusively upon the authority of Tacitus (*Annal.*, xiii. 14) in combination with Josephus (*Ant.*, xx. 8, 9). His argument is as follows (*l.c.*, p. 128): "Festus' predecessor, Felix, escaped the accusations brought against him by shielding himself behind his brother Pallas, whom Nero was then holding in especial honour (*μάλιστα δὲ τότε διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων ἐκείνου*). Now Tacitus says expressly that in the year 55 Nero removed Pallas from the conduct of affairs, for he had been made chancellor by Claudius. That this man should subsequently have been restored by Nero to especial favour, is not made probable by appeal to the favourable outcome of a suit brought against him in this same year 55 (*Tac., Ann.*, xiii. 23). Tacitus himself in xiii. 14 sets forth that Pallas, even before his deposition, had made provision against the possibility of condemnation. Either Josephus is in error, or Festus went to Palestine in 55." On the latter of these two alternatives Holtzmann has based his admirably condensed and lucid argument. Our own investigations will show, however, that it is the former which must be adopted, and that with the error, or better, the unwarranted inference, of Josephus falls practically the whole of the structure so carefully reared, with all the superstructure erected by later hands.

But first we must trace the influence of this argument of Holtzmann upon the present supporters of the so-called "new" chronology, which is really the only chronology of Paul's life known to antiquity. For two of the ablest of these, Harnack and McGiffert, independently of one another, have built upon it, the inevitable coincidence of

their results being even appealed to as additional evidence for their accuracy (McGiffert, *Ap. Age*, p. viii.). Harnack admittedly rests at least one-half of the weight of his case upon Holtzmann's argument, declaring that "the best proof" for the trustworthiness of the Eusebian dating "is the fact that O. Holtzmann has reckoned out this very same chronology, without even taking into consideration the data of Eusebius."<sup>1</sup>

After the example of Holtzmann, Harnack further dismisses all other attempted synchronisms as valueless (*l.c.*, p. 236), and herein coincides again with his brilliant pupil in New York. McGiffert, however, goes much further than Harnack in his dependence on Holtzmann, since he not only makes no attempt to criticise his (incorrect) statements in regard to Tacitus, but rests the *entire* weight of the chronology he adopts upon Holtzmann's data alone, making no use, as Harnack has done, of the scholarly and able argument of Blass (*l.c.*) for the trustworthiness of the Eusebian data.

It is not strange that McGiffert, in adopting the results of Holtzmann, should have fallen into the same error as his authority in dating the recall of Felix and accession of Festus in 55 A.D., the year of the overthrow of Pallas.<sup>2</sup> For Harnack's important supplement to Holtzmann's extract from Tacitus, viz.: that the fall of Pallas was some days

<sup>1</sup> "Der beste Beweis für die Haltbarkeit der Aufstellung liegt aber darin dass O. Holtzmann eben diese Chronologie ausgerechnet hat, ohne von der Angabe des Eusebius auch nur Notiz zu nehmen" (*l.c.*, p. 237. Italics the author's).

<sup>2</sup> Holtzmann (*l.c.*, p. 129): "Entweder irrt Josephus, oder Festus ist schon 55 nach Palästina gekommen . . . Sonach scheint der Anfang der Verwaltung des Festus nicht später als 55, der Ausgang derselben nicht früher als 58 angesetzt werden zu dürfen." And again (p. 180): "Felix konnte, wenn er Sommer 55 Palästina verliess, doch noch frühzeitig genug in Rom sein um durch seinen freilich nur noch kurze Zeit mächtigen Bruder Pallas geschützt zu werden." McGiffert has twice (*Journ. Am. Th.*, I. 1, p. 147; *Ap. Age*, p. 357) the statement that "Pallas fell into disfavour with Nero and was relieved of his offices *before the end of the year 55*," and twice: "It seems therefore that the latter [Festus] must have become procurator in 55; for *before the end of that year Pallas was in disgrace*." (Italics mine.)

earlier than the birthday of Britannicus, which occurred on February 12, had not then been made. Had McGiffert considered the effect of this closer determination of the date, he must have seen that Holtzmann's year 55 was out of the question; for McGiffert himself calls our attention to the fact that according to Josephus (*Ant.*, xx. 8, 9): "The accusation from which Felix was relieved by the good offices of his brother was made after his departure from Palestine and after the accession of his successor Festus."<sup>1</sup> Now as it is clear from Acts xxiv. 27; xxv. 1, 6; xxvii. 1-9, that Festus did not arrive before midsummer, and the fall of Pallas was in January or early in February, the supposed intervention of Pallas must have been in the previous year, *i.e.* 54 A.D. and not 55.

It is not strange that McGiffert should have failed to make this correction of Holtzmann based upon the date of the birthday of Britannicus, for only a close comparison of Tacitus, such as Harnack has given, would have revealed the discrepancy. But how can we account for Harnack's own failure to correct, since the error lies patent upon the very surface of his work? "Pallas fell into disfavour, according to Tacitus (*Annal.*, xiii. 14, 15), no later than February in the year 55; hence the recall of Felix cannot have been later than 55-6."<sup>2</sup> This is a pure blunder. Every

<sup>1</sup> The statement of *Ant.* xx. 8, 9 is inconsistent with that of *Bell.* ii. 13, 7 (v. Schürer, *l.c.*, p. 185). According to the latter passage Felix himself sent the ambassadors of both parties to the Cæsarean dispute "to Nero"; and this Schürer regards as the more probable. By supposing that the deputations were really sent to Claudius, but *arrived* under Nero, it might be possible to rescue the statement of *Ant.* xx. 8, 9, that Pallas' intervention on his brother's behalf was "while he was in the height of favour with Nero." Unfortunately for those who might wish to resort to this supposition in support of Holtzmann's synchronism, the intervention of Pallas would then have nothing whatever to do with the date of Felix's recall or the accession of Festus. It would merely tell us the date of an effort which *failed* to secure the recall of Felix.

<sup>2</sup> "Pallas fiel nach Tacitus (*Annal.*, xiii. 14, 15) bereits im Jahr 55 im Febr. in Ungnade; also kann Felix nicht später als 55-6 abberufen worden sein" (*l.c.*, p. 235). We omit the reference in the note to the question whether Tacitus may not have meant the year 56. For the discussion of this unguarded proposal of Harnack see our criticism further on.

careful reader must see that Harnack should have written 54-55, yet he not only fails to see the bearing of his own more accurate determination of the date, but proceeds to build upon Holtzmann's date of 55, as if that were substantiated, and the only question remaining, the question whether Tacitus might not be brought into correspondence with the Eusebian date of 56 by certain more or less improbable suppositions.

We owe to the keenness of Ramsay, in his review of Harnack, entitled "Pauline Chronology" (EXPOSITOR, v. 5, p. 209), the demonstration that the recall could not "be sent out by Nero after he entered on power October 13, A.D. 54, in time for Felix to reach Rome before February, 55," since "such a journey could not be accomplished in the winter season within the space allowed." It is Ramsay, again, who shows that Harnack's proposal to correct the statement of Tacitus that the birthday of Britannicus in question was his fourteenth, "*quartum* decimum aetatis annum explebat," by substituting *quintum*, "fifteenth," is absolutely negated by the dating (*Annal.*, xiii. 11) under Claudius Nero, and L. Antistius (= A.D. 55), as well as by the whole arrangement of the narrative. Thus whatever the possible value of Holtzmann's synchronism, he is forced in any event to carry back the recall of Felix to the year 54, and to struggle as best he can with the difficulty of the winter journey.

Harnack has two possibilities in reserve, if the emendation of Tacitus be inadmissible, by which Holtzmann's chronology may become, if not identical with, yet approximately near the Eusebian. (1) Festus may not have followed immediately on the heels of his predecessor in office. (2) Pallas may not *at once* have lost *all* influence.<sup>1</sup> We will discuss these in order.

<sup>1</sup> "Will man das (the possible error of Tacitus) nicht zugestehen . . . so fragt es sich noch immer ob Festus ihm (Felix) auf dem Fusse gefolgt ist, fragt

(1) The most favourable possible supposition for Holtzmann, and of course for Harnack as well, involves two assumptions: (a) That the "recall" of Felix coincides with the accession of Nero, October 13, A.D. 54; in other words, that Felix did not wait to be formally relieved of office, but started for Rome as soon as the news of Claudius' death reached him, let us say with Kellner, November, 54. No intrinsic impossibility is involved in this supposition (*v. Schürer, l.c.*, p. 183). (b) That the appointment of Felix's successor was unusually delayed, so that Festus did not arrive until some nine months after Felix's "recall," *i.e.* July 13, 55 A.D. There would then be left a discrepancy of only *one* year between Holtzmann's chronology and the Eusebian.

But it is no other than Josephus himself, on whose accuracy here Holtzmann is absolutely dependent, who makes both of these assumptions absolutely impracticable. (a) He makes the recall of Felix not coincident with the accession of Nero, but at an interval thereafter, which Holtzmann himself estimates at "some months," Schürer at "several years," Lightfoot (*l.c.*) at "five or six years." (b) He states expressly (*Ant.*, xx. 8, 9) that Felix did not leave Palestine until after the accession of his successor Festus. Neither one of the proposed assumptions (a and b) is admissible, and *both* are essential to the theory; for it is only on the supposition that Festus' accession was delayed until the following summer that it becomes supposable that Felix might have been recalled between October 13, 54, and the fall of Pallas, January-February 12, 55. Otherwise we shall have to hold, with the untrustworthy Armenian version, that Felix was recalled by Claudius (!) in order to bring Festus' accession within the season of year required by Acts.

es sich auch, ob Pallas sofort allen Einfluss verloren hat" (*l.c.* p. 238. *Italics the author's.*)

(2) But may not the influence of Pallas have endured for some time after his fall, so that his intervention could shield his brother? To this we have no objection to offer. Indeed we think it very probable that Felix was thus shielded, for Pallas lived on till 62 A.D., the richest man in Rome; and, as Ramsay truly says: "A millionaire is a great power even in the best state of society." *But if the intervention of Pallas was subsequent to his fall, what becomes of the precious synchronism?* Absolutely no chronological inference can be drawn from it. Harnack's harmony will be effected at the cost of the very datum for the sake of which it was made, and on which the entire structure of Holtzmann and his followers has been erected!

We have seen that a harmony of the Eusebian chronology with that of Holtzmann such as that on which Harnack has attempted to rear the superstructure of the new chronology is impracticable. We need take but few words to point out how entirely fallacious is the whole reckoning of Holtzmann and his followers, whether in agreement with the Eusebian or not.

It is certainly most singular that Ramsay, whose ears were impervious to two seductive strains of the harmonizer, should have yielded to the third, and admitted that there might be force in the suggestion that Pallas could not at once have lost all influence in Rome. "Josephus' words," he admits (EXPOSITOR, v. 5, p. 210), "are a little too emphatically expressed, but the fact they contain is true; Pallas's power shielded Pallas's brother from his just punishment." Is not Ramsay here, in the very act of exposing the violence of Harnack to Tacitus, exposing himself to the charge of violence to Josephus? Is it "true" to say that "Pallas was then in the height of favour with Nero," *μάλιστα δὴ τότε διὰ τιμῆς ἄγων ἐκείνον*, if in reality Pallas had fallen from favour at least a year before? Be it remembered that there is not only no ground (Holtzmann,

as quoted above, p. 128) for assuming a restoration of Pallas to favour, but even, as McGiffert points out (*l.c.* p. 357), Tacitus expressly remarks in regard to the judicial white-washing Pallas had procured for himself later in the year 55, that "his acquittal was not so gratifying [to the emperor] as his arrogance was offensive."<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, there is no concession whatever to be made to Holtzmann. To his peremptory dilemma, "Either Josephus is in error, or Festus went to Palestine in 55 [read 54]," there is but one possible and necessary answer: Josephus is certainly in error. We have seen that Josephus' own statements as to the indictment of Felix would require us either to place the recall early in 54, *i.e.* under Claudius (!), or else to acknowledge that the incident of the intervention of Pallas has no bearing on the date of Felix's recall. We have seen that Josephus' own statements, again, are explicit as to the continued activity of Felix under Nero. And we have seen that Tacitus' testimony to the final expulsion of Pallas from court favour, as having occurred some days before February 12, A.D. 55, is invincible. These statements, taken together, make the recall of Felix before the overthrow of Pallas absolutely impossible. Against them we have nothing but the casual, unsupported remark of Josephus—contrary to his own representations elsewhere—that if it had not been for his brother's influence at court, *then at its height*, Felix would have met his just deserts. Plainly in the attempt to explain the escape of so great a rascal from Roman justice Josephus, in the words italicised, for the moment forgets his dates. The foundation on which Holtzmann and McGiffert have rested the entire weight of their chronologies, and Harnack fully half the weight of his, is a pure anachronism, absolutely without value for the purpose, save by the inference which might be drawn from the probable limits of error beyond which

<sup>1</sup> *Annal.*, xv. 23.

Josephus cannot well have strayed. But the consideration of this inference belongs to the constructive side of our enquiry, and this we reserve for a later occasion.

BENJ. W. BACON.

## DIFFICULT PASSAGES IN ROMANS.

### II. ST PAUL'S THEORY OF ETHICS.

AFTER a distinctively Christian greeting in Romans i. 1-7, St. Paul goes on in verses 8-15 to express his deep interest in his readers. He never ceases to give thanks to God for them, and prays that a way may be opened for him to visit them, hoping thus to benefit both them and himself, and eager to pay a debt which he owes to all men of whatever nationality and degree of culture. The debt he wishes to pay is to preach the Gospel.

Then follows a description of the Gospel. It is a power of God for salvation, for every one who believes, for Jew first, and for Greek. For in it a righteousness of God is revealed, from faith, for faith. And this is in harmony with an announcement by an ancient prophet, that "the righteous man by faith will live."

At this point, in verse 18, a sudden change comes over the scene. Righteousness and faith vanish from view; and unrighteousness and anger take their place. The hinge on which the discourse turns is the word *revealed*. Righteousness of God revealed in the Gospel is now confronted by *anger of God revealed from heaven against all unrighteousness*. The specific reason of this anger is stated, viz. that *men hold back the truth in unrighteousness*. And this St. Paul explains by saying that in the material universe *God has manifested to men His power*, and that which distinguishes God from man, *i.e. His Godhead*. But men turned from the Creator and worshipped the creature, even

irrational animals. Because of this *God gave them up to shameful passions*: notice the emphatic repetition in verses 24, 26, 28. The deep degradation of the heathen is here represented as a punishment for their forgetfulness of God and their idolatry. The awful picture concludes with a catalogue of their sins.

In chapter ii. 1 is another sudden turn in the discourse. Hitherto the writer has spoken of the heathen, as a whole, in the third person plural. He now suddenly accosts, in the second person singular, one man apparently standing before him, and representing a whole class of men: *inexcusable thou art, O man, whoever thou art that judgest*. The man addressed judges others, yet himself commits sin, and nevertheless expects to escape the judgment of God. Against this vain expectation St. Paul asserts the *righteous judgment of God, who will give back to each one according to his works*. This indiscriminate retribution will divide mankind into two classes; those who do right and will receive *eternal life*, and those who disobey the truth, and on whom will fall *anger and fury*.

Across these two divisions runs another division, made conspicuous by repetition in consecutive verses: *of Jew first, and also of Greek*. This cross-division St. Paul sets aside as not affecting the primary division, and thus supports his earlier assertion that God will give back to each one according to his works, by adding, *for there is no respect of persons with God*.

The cross-division is, however, sufficiently serious to need further discussion. St. Paul goes on, in verses 12-15, to show that, in spite of the great distinction between man and man involved in the gift of the written law to Israel only, sin will be followed in all men alike by judgment and destruction. He does this by treating separately, in verse 12, each side of the cross-division.

The one class is described as *so many as have sinned*

*apart from law* : ἀνόμως. The word *law* in this verse, and in the phrase *who have no law* in verse 14, refers evidently to the law of Moses. For only in this sense can men be said to *have no law*, and only in this sense does law divide men into two separate categories. St. Paul asserts that they who have sinned without having heard the Law of Moses will not, on that account, escape. *They will perish*. But their ruin will have no connection with the law they have not heard : it will be, like their sin, *apart from law*.

Others have *sinned in law*. A written prescription of conduct, viz. the Law of Moses, has been the mental and moral environment of their life and sin, moulding their thought, and giving significance to their actions. The absence of the article leaves us to look at the Law of Moses qualitatively ; as in the phrase *holy writings* in chapter i. 2. Another view of the Jews' relation to the Law is found in 1 Corinthians ix. 20, 21, *those under law* ; where the Law of Moses, also without the article, is represented as a crushing load under which they lie. They whose sins have had a written prescription for their moral environment will be judged by means of a written prescription, viz. the law in which they have sinned : διὰ νόμου κριθήσονται. It will be the instrument, i.e. the standard, by which they *will be judged*. This statement is followed by a universal principle underlying all law, but here used with special reference to a prescription of conduct given by God. Not the hearers of such prescription are counted just in the presence of God, but they who translate it into action *will be justified*.

This use of the word *justify* sheds light on its meaning elsewhere. It cannot here mean to make actually righteous. For it is needless to say that the doers of law will be made righteous. They are already so, in virtue of what they are doing. Evidently the word is equivalent to the parallel phrase *righteous before God* ; and denotes that the persons referred to will be accepted and treated as

righteous. A good definition of the word *justify* is found in 1 Kings viii. 32: "To condemn the wicked, to bring his way upon his head; and to justify the righteous, to give to him according to his righteousness." In my next paper we shall see that this is the use of the word throughout the New Testament.

Verses 14 and 15 support verse 13 by showing how the principle there stated applies not only to Jews, to whom its application is obvious, but also to Gentiles.

The word *ἔθνη* denotes here, not *nations* as wholes, but individual members of the various nations of the world, who are spoken of in the English Bible as *Gentiles*. So 1 Corinthians xii. 2, "ye were *Gentiles*"; Galatians ii. 12, "with the *Gentiles* he was eating"; verse 14, "how dost thou compel the *Gentiles* to Judaize"; and elsewhere frequently. No nation as a whole has ever been known to obey the moral law. But here the argument implies that the case mentioned is actual. See below. And, if so, St. Paul can refer only to individual Gentiles. *Not having law*: τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα. The individual Gentiles, taken together, form a definite group characterized by not having an authoritative written prescription of conduct. Hence the article. Yet occasionally they *do by nature the things of the Law*, i.e. the actions prescribed in the Law of Moses: ὅταν . . . ποιῶσιν.

The word *φύσει* stands in contrast to *having no law*. We *do by nature* that which we do prompted by influences born in us, as distinguished from education or external pressure. By nature the bee collects honey and builds cells. St. Paul here assumes that sometimes Gentiles, moved only by moral influences born in them, without any external and authoritative law, do nevertheless the actions prescribed in the Law of Moses. The same is implied again in verse 27, where we read that *the uncircumcision from nature*, i.e. concrete persons described by a charac-

terizing quality, whose moral position is a result of influences born in them (*ἐκ φύσεως*), *fulfilling the Law, i.e. accomplishing the purpose for which the Law of Moses was given, viz. right conduct, will judge thee, who with letter and circumcision, with written law and bearing in thy body the mark of the covenant of God, art a transgressor of law.*

The above passages are illustrated and justified by many virtuous and noble actions recorded in ancient history. These claim our respect, and are facts in the moral history of our race which must not be overlooked. The obedience to law referred to by St. Paul was imperfect and fragmentary, and therefore insufficient for justification on the ground of works. But, as we shall see, it was abundantly sufficient for his argument.

From this occasional obedience of some of the heathen, St. Paul draws a most important inference. The conspicuous repetition in one short sentence of the words *not having law* lays bare the nerve of the argument. Inasmuch as the Gentiles have no written law, and yet occasionally do, prompted only by moral influences born in them, the actions prescribed in the Law of Moses, we are compelled to infer that they *are to themselves* what the written law was to Israel; *i.e.* that there is something in their inborn nature which does for them what the moral teaching of the Old Testament did for the Jews. For not otherwise can we account for their obedience to a law they had never seen.

Notice that this inference is drawn *whenever Gentiles . . . do the things of the Law*. If they never did the things commanded by Moses, this inference would not be drawn.

Next follows, by way of a comment on the action of these Gentiles (*οἵτινες κ.τ.λ.*), a restatement, in a slightly different form, of the foregoing argument. They *show in themselves*: *ἐνδείκνυνται*. The middle voice calls attention

to the reflex action, and the preposition *ἐν* to its inwardness. These men by their occasional obedience point to something in themselves. *The work of the Law*: equivalent to *the things of the Law* in verse 14. The singular number, *the work*, looks upon the moral code as a unity, its various precepts forming one whole. The code is *written*, not like the decalogue, on tables of stone, but *in their hearts*. For the code of morals revealed in their occasional obedience, inasmuch as they have no code external to themselves, can be found only in their hearts, in that inmost chamber whence come their actions.

The above main argument is supported by two collateral arguments added in two participial clauses. These *bear joint-witness*: *συνμαρτυρούσης*. As here St. Paul appeals for confirmation of what he has said to the conscience of the Gentiles, so he appeals in chapter ix. 1 to his own conscience. And in chapter viii. 16 the Spirit of God and the believer's own spirit bear joint testimony, viz. that St. Paul and his readers are children of God. The word *witness* is not infrequent in the New Testament in this argumentative sense. So Acts xv. 8, "God bore witness to them, by giving the Holy Spirit"; Hebrews ii. 4, "God bearing witness with and upon their witness by signs and wonders": *συνεπιμαρτυροῦντος*. It is specially appropriate here where St. Paul appeals to the voice of conscience and the mutual accusations of the heathen.

The word *conscience*, *συνείδησις*, denotes, not knowledge shared with others, but inward knowledge possessed by ourselves only. It is the inner faculty by which a man contemplates and pronounces judgment upon his own thought, action, and character, as these are known to himself only, the faculty of introspection, and especially of moral introspection. It is the eye which reads the law written in the heart. This inward vision supports St. Paul's inference from the occasional obedience of the heathen. The Gen-

tiles are directly conscious, whenever they contemplate their own inner life, of an authoritative code of morals written within. Of this we shall find independent proof.

Then follows a second confirmatory witness. Not only does their inward knowledge of themselves bear witness to a law written within, but so also do, in the outward and mutual intercourse of man with man, their *reasonings when accusing, or even when excusing*. This mutual intercourse, in contrast to the inward voice of conscience, is indicated by the words *μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων* pushed prominently forward. The substantive *λογισμός* is found in the New Testament only here and in 2 Corinthians x. 5. But the verb *λογίζομαι* is frequent, especially with St. Paul. It denotes mental calculation, the process of reasoning. So Romans viii. 18: "I reckon that the sufferings are not worthy to be compared"; ch. ii. 3, iii. 28, iv. 3, vi. 11, ix. 8, and elsewhere. The words *one with another* imply that the reasonings of which St. Paul here thinks revealed themselves in audible discourse.

These reasonings take the form of accusation and of excuse. In their thoughts and talk the Gentiles bring charges one against another; at other times they defend one another against such charges.

The apostle says that these *reasonings, when accusing or even excusing*, in their intercourse *one with another* confirm the testimony borne by the inward voice of conscience, and still further confirm the evidence afforded by their occasional right conduct, that God has written His law in the hearts of the Gentiles. The force of this argument is undeniable.

The literature of the ancient world is full of moral judgments pronounced by men about their fellows. And in non-Christian as in Christian nations men pronounce such judgments to-day. These judgments imply a common standard with which human conduct must be compared:

for otherwise they would be meaningless, and certainly without force.

If the above exposition be correct, the word *συνμαρτυρούσης* dominates the rest of the verse; or rather, grammatically, we must supply, from it, as predicate agreeing with *τῶν λογισμῶν*, another genitive absolute *συνμαρτυρούντων*. We may perhaps render or paraphrase the whole verse: "who show in themselves the work of the Law written in their hearts, while confirmatory testimony is borne by their own conscience, and, in their intercourse one with another, by their reasonings when accusing or even excusing."

We have now found in verses 14, 15 one primary and two confirmatory arguments. (1) The occasional performance by Gentiles of actions commanded in the Law of Moses proves that the Creator wove into the tissue of human nature the moral principles which He afterwards wrote on the tables of stone and proclaimed through the lips of the prophets. This proof is confirmed (2) by their own direct inner consciousness of an inward and authoritative standard of right and wrong. And it is further confirmed (3) by the common principles of morality which underlie their estimates one of another, whether of blame or praise.

We have, in the two verses now before us, St. Paul's theory of ethics, his explanation of the moral facts of humanity and of human life. In his view, the distinction of right and wrong is no mere accumulation of experiences of the results of certain courses of action, but a voice of God in man speaking with the supreme authority which spoke to Israel from Sinai, and marking out a path in which the Creator requires him to go. In other words, the Moral Sense is a revelation of God to man.

This teaching of St. Paul is in remarkable agreement with many testimonies coming to us from the ancient world. I may quote from Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, bk. iv. 4. 19ff. a conversation of Socrates with Hippias: "Dost thou know,

said he, Hippias, any unwritten laws? Those in every country, said he, held binding touching the same things. Wouldst thou then be able to say that men made them? Why, how, said he, could all men come together when they do not speak the same language? Then who do you suppose, said he, has made these laws? I think, said he, that gods gave these laws to men. For with all men it is thought right first of all to reverence gods. Is it everywhere thought right to honour parents? It is, said he." Notice also the following, from Demosthenes *On the Crown*, p. 317: "And not only will these principles be found in the enactments of the law; but even nature herself has laid them down in her unwritten laws, and in the moral constitutions of men."

Very interesting is the following from a Roman statesman. In Cicero's *Laws*, bk. ii. 4, we read: "This then, as it appears to me, has been the decision of the wisest men, that law was neither a thing contrived by the genius of man, nor established by any decree of the people, but a certain eternal principle which governs the entire universe, wisely commanding and forbidding. Therefore they called that primal and supreme law the mind of God enjoining or forbidding each separate thing in accordance with reason. On which account it is that this law, which the gods have given to the human race, is so justly praised. For it is the reason and mind of a wise Being equally able to urge us to good, and to deter us from evil. . . . For even he (Tarquin) had the light of reason deduced from the nature of things, which incites to good actions and dissuades from evil ones; and which does not begin for the first time to be a law when it is drawn up in writing, but from the first moment that it exists: and its existence is coeval with the divine mind. Therefore the true and supreme law, whose commands and prohibitions are equally authoritative, is the right reason of the Sovereign Jupiter."

The above quotations bear witness to a widespread belief that the principles of morality which underlie human laws are universal, and of superhuman origin ; and that they are the voice of an authority against which there is no appeal. And they are confirmed by the entire literature of the ancient world. In them, the conscience and the moral reasonings of the Gentiles lie open to our inspection. And they not only justify St. Paul's appeal, but anticipate his argument.

The above teaching, in which St. Paul is in agreement so remarkable with the best writers of antiquity, is the only explanation of the essential similarity, in spite of differences in detail, of the codes of morality of all nations, and of the supreme and supernatural authority with which in all nations moral distinctions have been invested. In other words St. Paul's Theory of Ethics is the only one which will account for the facts of the case.

It is interesting to note that the supernatural origin and divine authority of the moral sense of man, important truths known to the wisest men of Greece and Rome, are taught clearly in the Bible only by St. Paul, the apostle who came most into contact with the heathen. Probably his own thoughts on this all-important subject were quickened and moulded by his intercourse with thoughtful Gentiles. They are an example of Christian teaching influenced by pre-Christian and Gentile thought.

Verse 16 cannot be joined directly to verse 15, or to verse 14. It must therefore be joined to verse 13, asserting that the doers of law will be justified in the day when God will judge the secret things of men. This justification in the day of judgment is in close agreement with Matthew xii. 37 : "in the day of judgment; for by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned." It is an important link between the different schools of New Testament thought repre-

sented by the letters of St. Paul and by the First Gospel. The above-suggested connection of thought makes verses 14, 15 a parenthesis explaining how the general principle asserted in verse 13 can and will be applied to Gentiles as well as Jews. Notice that the judgment of the great day was a part of the *Gospel* preached by St. Paul; and that, as of creation (Col. i. 16) and salvation (Rom. v. 1), so also of judgment, *Jesus Christ* is the divine Agent.

In verse 17, as in verse 1, Paul turns suddenly to a man who seems to stand before him; and whom he now accosts as a *Jew*. Then follows a sustained and withering rebuke. The man to whom St. Paul speaks exults in his knowledge of God and his possession of the Law, which he teaches others to obey; yet by breaking the Law he dishonours God. This personal appeal recalls that in verses 1-5; and is probably directed to the same class of persons. But the earlier appeal is valid against any who while committing sin condemn sinners and expect themselves to escape punishment. This one is directed specifically to a Jew who, while boasting about the Law yet breaks its commands.

At verse 24 another element is brought in, viz. *circumcision*. The Jews not only have a written law not given to the Gentiles, but bear in their bodies the sign of God's covenant with their father Abraham. The apostle asserts that this advantage benefits only those who obey the Law, and that to others it is worthless. From this general principle he derives an important inference, viz. that a man's real relation to God does not depend on the distinction between Jew and Gentile. If the uncircumcised *guard the decrees of the Law*, i.e. if they carefully keep the moral precepts commanded by Moses, their lack of circumcision will not exclude them from the covenant of God. Nay more. By fulfilling the Law, i.e. by obeying it and thus attaining the purpose for which it was given,

they will, by revealing the inexcusability of many Jews who break it, pronounce on these last, in the day of judgment, the sentence of God.

A close parallel to this verse is found in Matthew xii. 42: "The queen of the south will arise in the judgment with this generation, and will condemn it: because she came from the ends of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and behold more than Solomon is here." Her eagerness to learn the truth will reveal by contrast the culpable indifference of the men of Christ's day.

Then follows the great truth that the real distinctions of men are to be found not in the outward and visible, but in the inward and spiritual.

Verse 27 implies that some heathen will be saved. For saved and lost will be the ultimate distinction between man and man. And the only sentence we can conceive devout heathen to pronounce on wicked Jews is for the former to enter into heaven while the latter are cast out. We may well believe that, just as now God receives into His favour, in spite of their past sins, all who put faith in Christ, so in the great day He will welcome into eternal life those who, having never heard either the Law of Moses or the Gospel of Christ, have yet followed, in some measure approved by God, the guidance of the moral law inwoven by the Creator into the nature of all men. By asserting this principle in reference to the heathen, the apostle opens a door of hope for many in Christian lands who have not heard the Gospel in its fulness and power. He thus warns us not hastily to condemn others who have not had the religious advantages for which some of us will have to give account.

The whole teaching of chapter ii. seemed to put Jews and Gentiles on the same level. St. Paul therefore asks in chapter iii. 1, *What then is the advantage of the Jew?* The answer is, *Much, in every way*, especially in the

possession of the written revelations, *the oracles, of God*, an advantage not destroyed by the unbelief of part of the nation. The apostle then sums up the result of chapters i. 18-iii. 8, by saying that he has convicted both Jews and Greeks that they are *all under sin*. This charge he supports by quotations from the Old Testament; and adds that these were written to place the whole world silent and guilty before the bar of God.

In chapter iii. 21 we have another transition as sudden and complete as that in chapter i. 18, but in an opposite direction. The writer passes now as rapidly from darkness into light as he there passed from light into darkness. And when we emerge from the deep shadow which during the whole section, chapters i. 18-iii. 20, has rested upon us, we find ourselves where we were before we entered it. In close agreement with the preliminary statement of the doctrine of salvation through faith in chapter i. 16, 17, we have in chapter iii. 21, 22 another statement of the doctrine of justification through faith, followed in verse 23 by a short summary of the teaching of the section before us, and in verses 24-26 a statement of the great doctrine of justification through the death of Christ. Then follows a full exposition and defence of these doctrines and of other primary elements of the Gospel. The section before us is a dark background of ruin on which the apostle writes, in brilliant characters, the glad tidings of salvation.

In this section the name of Christ appears only once, in chapter ii. 16, and then not as the Saviour but as the Judge of mankind. The whole is a picture of the world "without Christ," consisting of Jews and Gentiles. On each of these elements in its relation to God, St. Paul sheds light. The Jews have great advantages, especially the trust of the written revelations: but these will permanently benefit only those who obey the commands therein contained. Moreover the Gentiles also possess

important revelations of the nature and will of God. For the Creator has manifested to them, in the works of creation, His unseen power and Godhead. And He has written in their hearts a prescription of conduct identical, in its most important elements, with the law given through Moses to Israel. In short, in this section we have St. Paul's account of Natural Theology.

Notice here a universal revelation in nature, standing in definite relation to the subsequent historic revelations given to Israel through Moses and the prophets, and to the supreme historic revelation given to the world in Christ. To this earlier revelation, the later revelations pay homage, and from it they receive homage. So St. Paul in 2 Corinthians iv. 2: "commending ourselves to every man's conscience." For all subsequent revelations are in harmony with the law written in the hearts of men. The homage paid by the moral sense of man to the character and teaching of Christ is the most powerful witness to His divine authority. It is to-day the strongest weapon in the hand of missionaries to the heathen, and of preachers at home. It is the voice of God in man answering to the voice divine which speaks to us through the lips of Christ from the pages of Holy Scripture.

This voice from within cannot save. For it is a voice of condemnation only, not of pardon. Nor has it power to break the fetters of sin and enable us to obey in the future. Consequently, although some men may occasionally do *by nature* the things bidden in the law, they are none the less, as we read in Ephesians ii. 3, "by nature children of wrath, like the rest." For none can so obey as to obtain, on the ground of works, the favour of God. Consequently, although human nature is not all bad—for the law written in the heart is good—it is, apart from a supernatural salvation, altogether lost.

As a voice of God in man, the law written within speaks

to him with supreme authority: *i.e.* he is bound, under penalty of loss of self-respect and of moral degradation, to obey at any cost the voice of conscience. This is to him, until better instructed, the law of his being. But erring human nature is very apt to misread both the letters written within and the words of Holy Scripture. Consequently, the moral sense needs education and development. This it receives from all external and sound moral teaching, and especially from the teaching of the Bible. The word within and the words of the sacred volume need each to be read in the light of the other. Each is supreme in its own sphere, the one is our subjective rule of action for the moment: the other is the objective and historical basis of the Christian Faith. Each needs the other. For full intellectual and spiritual certainty, the testimonies must coincide. But we must not impatiently reject either because it seems to contradict the other. Apparent discord should prompt suspension of judgment until the obscured harmony appears.

In my next paper I shall discuss St. Paul's statement of his fundamental doctrines of justification through faith and through the death of Christ.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

## *THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD.*

### II.

IN the Fourth Gospel, as I have already said, there are many instances in which Christ speaks of God as "the Father," though not "your Father," when addressing men who were not His disciples, and some of whom were His open enemies. In a very large number of these cases, however, you will find that He first speaks of Himself as the Son, or of God as being in some great and wonderful

sense His own Father; and *then* calls God "the Father." The instances are too numerous to be quoted; and to bring out their real force I should have to cite long passages from the 5th, 6th, 8th, and 10th chapters of St. John's Gospel. One illustration may indicate what I mean. In John v. 19, 20 He says: "The Son can do nothing of Himself, but what He seeth the Father doing: for what things soever He doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner. For the Father loveth the Son, and sheweth Him all things that Himself doeth." Further on in the chapter, He says: "I am come in My Father's name, and ye receive Me not; if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive." . . . And then two verses later:—"Think not that I will accuse you to the Father; there is one that accuseth you, even Moses, on whom ye have set your hope."<sup>1</sup>

In such passages as these it is not clear that Christ is describing God as being in any sense a Father in relation to men: He has just claimed God as being His own Father in a very special sense, and when He speaks of God as "the Father," that claim seems to interpret the title.

But in our Lord's words to the Samaritan woman the title "Father" receives no such limitation from what He had said before.<sup>2</sup> He has not just spoken of Himself as "Son"; if He had, we might have thought that when He spoke of God as "the Father" He was only speaking of God's relation to Himself. But there is nothing in what He said to impose upon the title any such restriction. The whole story is wonderful. The woman to whom He was speaking belonged to a race on which the Jews looked down with religious contempt. She herself was living an evil life. She had come to Jacob's Well to draw water and found a Stranger there—a Jew. How well I remember the vivid impression which I had of the story when I sat, nearly

<sup>1</sup> John v. 43, 45.

<sup>2</sup> John iv. 21.

twenty years ago, by the well where Christ Himself once sat! We had encamped the night before at Bethel, and had mounted our horses and started at six in the morning. The road lay at first among limestone hills of no great height, covered with the remains of ancient terraces, on which, no doubt, in our Lord's time there were fruitful vineyards. We passed Shiloh, and noticed the remains of ancient foundations all about the hill. Then came a steep and rocky road on which the horses could hardly keep their feet, and on which, if I remember aright, the horse of one of my friends slipped and fell: but cultivation extended to the very top of the pass. As soon as we reached the top there was a most beautiful view below us—the Plain of Samaria, seven miles in length and varying in breadth from one mile to two, covered with the ripening wheat and with lentils and with occasional olive trees; one unbroken sea of green, without a fence or a hedge visible. There were villages on the neighbouring hills. Then came the descent; and after a ride of about three or four miles we came to the valley on the left leading to Nablous, the ancient Sychem. And then, just where the valley opens, we found Jacob's Well. The heat of the sun as we rode over the bare rocks of the pass was very great and rather exhausting, and when we reached the well, I remembered that our Lord had *walked* over the pass through which I had ridden; and the words "Jesus, therefore, being *wearied*, sat as He was by the well" had a new meaning for me. In the valley towards Nablous I saw men at work in the fields, and I thought that perhaps the woman might have been drawing water for the midday meal for the men who were working in the same fields more than 1,800 years ago. I read the conversation between the woman and the Stranger. He had reminded her of her five husbands—had told her that the man with whom she was living was not her husband. "Sir," she answered, "I perceive that Thou art a prophet.

Our fathers worshipped in this mountain"—and here she would turn and point to Mount Gerizim, that rises just above the well—"and ye—ye Jews—say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship." Then began our Lord's wonderful reply. He was weary with His journey, but new life and strength came to Him when He saw that He had the opportunity to bring this woman home to God.

"Woman," He said, "believe Me, the hour cometh when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father."

The Father! The whole of the passage is so familiar to us that we are hardly able to conceive the strangeness, the wonder of it, when it was first spoken.

Observe: she had said that the fathers of the Samaritan people worshipped on Mount Gerizim, on the summit of which, as you know, the small remnant of the Samaritan race year by year still celebrate the Passover. For all men the religion of their fathers has something sacred in it. To be insensible to the power of religious traditions, to be able to break with them without distress, never to think with emotion of the faith which our fathers held, and of the place where they worshipped—this is the sign of a poor shallow nature.

"Our fathers worshipped in this mountain," said the woman. "You are a prophet, a Jew. Do you want me to cease to worship where our fathers worshipped?" The answer of our Lord is like an echo of the woman's words, an echo from the heights of Heaven. It is as if He had said: You are thinking of your fathers; in worship it is of the great, the eternal, the Divine Father that you should think first and last and always. "The hour cometh when neither in this mountain, nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father." The strong and sacred ties which have bound different races of men to worship where their

fathers worshipped must now give place to ties still stronger and more sacred. God reveals Himself as the Father, and wherever He is men may worship Him. In the presence of this revelation national distinctions vanish, the religious traditions which separated race from race vanish. Men are no longer to be divided from each other by the memory of their dead ancestors; where worship gave sacredness to mountains, altars, temples, they are to be drawn together by their common worship of the loving Father, and they are to worship Him in Spirit and in Truth.

This was an amazing disclosure to make at such a time and to such a person. The interest of it for ourselves lies in the fact that to this poor sinful woman our Lord spoke of God as "the Father."

And now we have to ask, What are the contents of this Revelation? How is the name illustrated and interpreted by what our Lord has taught elsewhere concerning the relations of God to all mankind. Of God's relations to those who, in the Christian sense of the words, have become His children, His sons, I have already spoken; now I have to speak of His relations to those who are not His children, not His sons; to whom, nevertheless, Christ describes Him as "the Father."

Perhaps we shall reach the answer to the question soonest, and by the surest path, if we follow the suggestion contained in our Lord's own words to this poor woman about the Jews. He told her that although Jerusalem was not to retain its ancient sanctity as being in a special sense the home of God, the Jews knew God as the Samaritans did not: "Ye worship that which ye know not; *we* worship that which we know, for salvation is from the Jews." That revelation which God had given to the Jewish race—a revelation in the law and a revelation through the prophets—was true as far as it went; and the parts of it which

the Samaritans rejected gave life and power to the rest. But let us contrast that revelation to the Jews with the gospel which is God's revelation to us. The ancient revelation was founded, as Paul reminds us in the Epistle to the Galatians, on God's gracious promise to Abraham. The splendid prerogatives of the nation were conferred, not as the reward of obedience to law, but as the crown of Abraham's faith in the goodness and power and fidelity of God. They were the free gift of God to the man who trusted Him. But the event in the history of the Jewish people which appealed most powerfully to their imagination was the giving of the law on Sinai; and the institution of the laws which were gradually extended till they covered every department of their religious and domestic and personal life, gave shape to all their conceptions of God. The flagrant sins of which the people were guilty through generation after generation had the effect of making the law press more and more heavily upon their conscience and their heart. They were punished with famine and pestilence and invasion and exile for transgressing the law. Prophets denounced their crimes, and told them that not until they were obedient would they enjoy peace and prosperity, and that if they continued to revolt they would continue to suffer.

The people had come to think of their relations to God as resting on what theologians used to call a *covenant of works*. God's defence and blessing and favour had to be bought by obedience, and would be forfeited by sin. They had to deserve His blessings or they would not receive them. Even in those prophets who had the clearest vision of a better and happier time there was very much to confirm this impression. They spoke with exultation of the future kingdom of God; and in a kingdom the pure and equitable administration of law,

by punishing the bad and defending the good, is one of the chief glories of the sovereign, and one of the chief securities of the stability of the state. In the time of our Lord the conception of law as determining the relations between God and man was the most conspicuous and energetic element in the belief of the Pharisees, whose zeal for religion gave them the highest religious authority in the nation.

Our Lord Himself began His ministry by proclaiming that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, and this might have strengthened the impression that the relations of God to men were to be altogether of the same kind as the relations of an earthly king to his earthly subjects. In a kingdom, whether human or divine, the majesty of law must be maintained; there must be authority on one side and obedience on the other. But, as I have already reminded you, all human analogies to the relations between God and man are imperfect; they are true at a point, at two points, perhaps more, but at last they break down. It was a divine kingdom with its authority, its laws, and its penalties, that Christ proclaimed; and yet it was something very different from an earthly kingdom, and the difference was most emphatically marked by the revelation of God as being, not the King merely, but the Father. In any system of religion the conception of God determines everything else; and in the gospel God is revealed as Father. We are not, therefore, under "a covenant of works," to use the old phrase once more. The ancient words of the Psalmist touch the very heart of the truth concerning God's relations to all men in Christ: He does not deal with us after our sins nor reward us according to our iniquities. He is a Father—not merely a King and a Judge. God maketh His sun to rise on the evil as well as on the good, and sends rain both on the just and on the unjust. All men sit at the same

table, like children who have obeyed their earthly father and children who have disobeyed him—children who have delighted and children who have grieved him. In a kingdom those who have revolted against the king, those who have broken the laws, are imprisoned, and only the loyal and law-abiding are allowed to go about free in the pleasant sunlight and the wholesome air. But God is slow to anger and plenteous in mercy; He bears with men's imperfections and their sins. He is eager, not to punish, but to forgive, to save.

He loves all men with a love infinitely transcending that of an earthly father for his children; "God *so* loved the world—not the Church merely—that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him should not perish but have eternal life." Those who imagine that the old theology does injustice to the divine love sometimes tell us that we are under automatic laws, laws which promptly avenge every violation of them, and inflict on the transgressor all the penalty that he deserves. If that were our position, we might be living in a righteous kingdom under the rule of a righteous king, but we should not be living under a Father. In a family there is no such prompt and relentless infliction of penalty for every offence that any member of the household may be guilty of. It is not the habit of an earthly father to govern on that principle, nor is that the principle on which the Heavenly Father governs. God Himself—in the person of His Son—has died, the righteous for the unrighteous, and Christ is the propitiation for the sin of the world. That is the foundation of the relation of all men to God. Their sins are atoned for before they are committed. The eternal laws have had their awful vindication in the death of Christ, and God deals with all men, not as a king—a judge—deals with the criminals who stand at his bar, though we have all sinned, but

as a father deals with his sinful children. He entreats us to repent and to amend. He is more ready to forgive our sins than we are to confess and forsake them. He deals with those who are sinning most flagrantly as a father deals with his children, doing His best and His utmost to rescue them from sin, to draw them to a better life, to bring them home to Himself. A father loves his children apart from their desert; and God loves men apart from their desert: it is in the power of His love that He makes men worthy to be loved.

Finally, in our original creation, we were so made as to be capable of receiving the eternal life of God which dwells in our Lord Jesus Christ; those who receive that life share the Sonship of Christ, and to them God is in the highest and deepest sense their Father. That life is a life of righteousness, purity, holiness and love; if we receive it, we must love it; and we can love it only as we are righteous, pure, holy and loving. "Love your enemies," our Lord said to His disciples, "and pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be the sons of your Father who is in Heaven." To realize your sonship to God you must share the highest life of God, for it is of the essence of sonship that sons share the life of their father; and if you share the highest life of God, you must live that life; as He is loving even towards His enemies, you too must be loving towards your enemies. So, and only so, according to Christ, can we become the sons of our Heavenly Father. By selfishness in all its forms, envy, jealousy, covetousness, vanity, ambition, hatred, malice, we suppress the higher life even if we have received it: we may suppress it altogether, and when we cease to have the life of God we cease to be the sons of God. Or we may always refuse to receive that life, and so may never be His sons.

But this is our fault—ours only. This is our supreme

sin. It is the most awful offence of which we can be guilty against God ; it is the root of all other offences. On God's side there is the deepest and strongest desire that we should become His sons—share His life, share His righteousness, share His joy. It is we who refuse to be His sons, not God who refuses to be our Father.

And so we speak to all men of God as the Father, as Christ spoke of Him to the woman at the well. Poor woman ! She had sunk into the dark depths of sin, but her heart was touched when she learnt that a Prophet of God cared enough for her to talk to her about her sin. She must have been still more deeply moved when she heard Him speak of God, not as an awful Judge, but as a Father. Her emotion must have been still deeper when this great Prophet went on to speak to her of such high matters as the very nature of God and the spiritual worship which God desires from mankind. Who was she that a Prophet should talk of such great mysteries as these ? There was the hope of a better life for her in all that He said. If God was the Father, she might appeal to His pity and mercy ; yes, even she might appeal with hope : and, since the Prophet spoke to her of a high spiritual worship, it was surely possible even for her to know something of the blessedness of those who had seen the glory of God. And when she learnt that the Stranger who was speaking to her was the Christ for whom Samaritans and Jews had been waiting for centuries, her astonishment and joy must have been unmeasured.

Ah, perhaps you say, if Christ would but come and speak to us in that way, we too should have hope and joy, and all things would be possible to us. But are you clear that the woman at the well was in a position more favourable than yours for forsaking sin and living to God ? She had, no doubt, the vivid impression of the senses : she actually saw and heard the Jewish Stranger whose knowledge of her past life assured her that He was a prophet. But how infinitely

unlike He was to the Christ for whose coming she and her fathers had been waiting! How easily she might have lost the faith in His authority as a prophet which had been suddenly created by His knowledge of her sins! Nor did she know half that we know of all the wonder of His grace and power.

*We* know that the Unseen Christ who is among us still is the eternal Son of God—that He appeals to each of us as directly as He appealed to the woman at the well, that He knows our sins as He knew hers, that He charges *us* to think of God as the Father and to appeal to God that we may begin to live the life and enter into the blessedness of sons. All this we know; but as yet I fear that some of us have refused to give Him the answer He longs for, and the great revelation which has come to us has left us impenitent and unsaved. It is not yet too late! Remember the words of the ancient Psalmist: “To-day, if ye will hear His voice, harden not your hearts.”

R. W. DALE.

## *JUDGMENT TO COME.<sup>1</sup>*

THE subject on which I am to speak this afternoon is Judgment to Come. I suppose that most of us are conscious that the anticipation of that great hour when we are to appear before God and give account of the deeds done in the body does not exert the power over our own life that it exerted over the life of Christian men in earlier generations.

It is also certain that it does not hold so large a place in theological thought. Neither in practice nor in speculation does it retain the position which it once held. I doubt whether even the preachers of the Salvation Army insist upon the terrors of Judgment to come as many of the preachers of the Evangelical Revival insisted upon them, as great Roman Catholic preachers in past times insisted upon them.

No Christian man, indeed, seriously and deliberately denies that the Lord Jesus Christ will judge the world, and that when this life is over we shall appear before Him that we may receive the things done in the body, whether it be good or bad. Our Lord's own declarations are too appalling to escape notice—too definite to be explained away. He says that He has authority to execute judgment, and that the dead shall hear His voice and shall come forth—they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil unto the resurrection of judgment. In His impressive dramatic representation of the judgment of the heathen, the righteous learn from

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered at Gordon Hall, March 2, 1891.

His own lips for the first time that the compassion they had shown to the hungry, to the sick, to strangers, to prisoners, was compassion shown to Himself, and they hear with astonishment the words of happy praise and His welcome into eternal blessedness; the wicked, on the other hand, discover with amazement that in their disregard of the claims of human misery they had refused to listen to the claims of the Supreme, and they learn for the first time that their sin is to be punished with an awful penalty.

Paul and the other Apostles are equally explicit and equally firm in declaring that Christ will come to judge the world, and on Paul himself the vision of the coming judgment seems to have exerted great and constant influence. He looked forward to it with awe. It steadied him, gave him an additional motive to self-discipline and to earnestness in his apostolic work.

The truth is not *denied*, but truths which are not denied are often suppressed and dislodged by habits of thought which are inconsistent with them. They are not consciously rejected, they are displaced. And in the minds of many Christian people certain theories of the universe and of human life have dislodged, displaced, the truth of Judgment to come. I propose to ask you to consider one conception of human life very prevalent just now, which has had this effect.

*Judgment after death*—men say—where is the need of it? We are being judged now. Every hour that passes bears witness before God to what we are. We ourselves are putting in the evidence day after day. The Court is already opened; the Judge is already sitting; and further, the penalties of sin and the rewards of fidelity, these are being received already. They are not to begin in another world and after death. Here and now the laws of the universe, which are the laws of God, eternally just, are

executing themselves ; the reward comes, the punishment comes, at once. It is this that gives solemnity and dignity to life.

Yes, but if so, what did Christ mean? What did Paul mean? They spoke of a judgment which for every man lies in the future, and of penalties and rewards which are to be the result of that judgment. If this theory be true, that the laws of God, eternally just, are executing themselves, there is no need for the intervention of Christ as Judge ; if the rewards and penalties come now, it is an error to be looking forward to an awful hour when there shall be a revelation of the righteous judgment of God.

Let us consider whether this theory of an automatic system of the Universe is a sound one ; whether it is true that the great ethical laws which should regulate human conduct execute themselves and confer, at once, rewards on the righteous man, and inflict, at once, penalties on the wrongdoer. The theory sounds philosophical. Is it consistent with facts? Is it consistent with the profoundest conceptions of the divine order of the world?

The theory is that the great moral laws of God are automatic, that they execute themselves, that they begin to inflict at once the just penalty on every one that violates them, begin to confer at once on every one that obeys them the just reward. That is the theory. Have men made it out of their own heads? or does it represent the actual facts of human life?

If the theory is true, how is it that for thousands of years men have insisted that there is no such apparent vindication of the principle of Eternal Justice? How is it that heathens, Jews, and Christians have been on this point all of one mind? The faith of those who have believed in the justice of God has been severely tried by what seemed to them the inequalities in the actual order of the world. Righteousness has been oppressed; wickedness has been

triumphant. This has been so always, from the earliest times which have left any trace on human memory till now.

Occasionally, no doubt, men have been disposed to argue as if even in this world happiness, prosperity, honour, always went with merit; loss, suffering, shame with vice. Job's friends, for example, thought that he must have sinned greatly because he suffered greatly. Our Lord's disciples, when they saw a blind man, asked, "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" There were Jews in our Lord's time who appear to have thought that those eighteen on whom the Tower of Siloam fell and killed them were sinners above all that dwelt in Jerusalem. But Job's friends were wrong, and the disciples were wrong, and the Jews who had these uncharitable and self-complacent thoughts about the poor people who were killed by the fall of the tower, were wrong. Men who have considered human life and the order of the world more seriously and more deeply have not discovered that there is this close connection between sin and penalty, between righteousness and reward; and the confusions of this present life have led many to believe that since God is just there must be another life in which all present inequalities will be remedied.

But we are told that this is a mistake, that here and now the laws execute themselves, that there are no inequalities to rectify, that there is no injustice to redress. The penalty is inflicted as soon as the sin is committed, the reward is present as soon as the righteous deed is done. And the same automatic laws which begin instantaneously to avenge the sin will continue to work; their action cannot be arrested till the full penalty is exhausted. The same automatic laws which begin instantaneously to reward the deed of righteousness will continue to work; their action cannot be arrested till all the golden harvest is reaped.

This, so we are assured, is the true account of the actual order of the world.

Well, since through so many generations men have had a wholly different impression, the proofs of the theory should be decisive. Where do you find them?

Let us ask, first, in what region of the environment of the life of man these proofs are apparent?

There is the material universe. Do you mean to say that all its forces are in such a sense in alliance with righteousness that they bless the good man and punish the liar, the thief, the sensualist? Christ says that God causes His sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sends His rain on the just and on the unjust. Lightning, storm, earthquake, blight, floods—who will venture to declare that these terrible evils, which destroy life or bring misery where life is spared, have any commission to distinguish between the sinner and the saint?

Or take our social environment, the political, the economic, and the social order under which we live. It is true no doubt that the natural laws which govern human society are to a certain extent favourable to virtue and hostile to vice: a society in which there is no industry, or temperance, or good faith, or in which there is no habit of subordination and obedience among the people, and in which the rulers have no sense of justice or of honour, will come to ruin. But the mills of the gods grind slowly, and the social penalties often come not upon those who have done the wrong, but on their children and their children's children. Again, a large part of human happiness and a large part of human misery comes from political institutions. Do these institutions embody an ideal justice? In Turkey, in Russia, or even in England, do they illustrate the automatic action of moral laws which inflict on men what they deserve and reward them according to their merit?

Is no man really wronged by the extortionate rapacity of

Turkish pashas? Is no man unjustly imprisoned by the Russian police? Even in England does every rascal get his deserts from judge and jury? Does no innocent man ever suffer from the delay or the expense of the law? Or, again, the economic order,—is that absolutely just in its workings? Does it distribute economic rewards and penalties according to men's moral deserts? Must I regard every millionaire as a saint, ask for his prayers, imitate his example?

Is every workman that has only 25s. a week a little less righteous than every workman who earns 30s., and are they both great sinners compared with the duke who has £100,000 a year? Is the lady who teaches in a High School with £200 a year incomparably better, morally, than the maid-of-all-work with her £10 and her board, and incomparably worse than the actress with her £5,000? Can we construct a calendar of saints by consulting the authorities at Somerset House and learning the amount of real and personal property that men leave behind them when they die?

Is every man that can afford to drive his carriage and pair more likely to get to heaven than the man who has to go about in a cab or who cannot afford to drive at all? Is it only wicked people who are swindled? Do good men and women always get twenty per cent. on their investments and leave fortunes to their children? If it is so, I have been in error about the world all my days, and am in error still.

The truth is that the political, economic, social order, is largely the expression and creation of the life of man. We were made in the image of God, and this implies that within limits and on an inferior level the powers of man correspond with the power of God. The social order is within limits man's creation: it carries on it the proof of human injustice, selfishness, cruelty, covetousness, lust. It does not give to every man according to his works.

The order of the material world does not at once inflict material penalties, does not at once confer material rewards according to men's deserts. Its political, economic, social order, does not inflict these penalties or confer these rewards. As yet the theory which dispenses with a future judgment is not proved.

Now let us pass from the environment of man to man himself that we may learn whether all the disorders that surround him have their compensations in the immediate rewards and penalties which come to him from the automatic laws of his own nature.

I will begin with the physical life of man.

It is true that there are certain forms of sin which are punished with physical disease. Habitual drunkenness has its physical penalties, and other grosser and more shameful vices bring in their train grosser and more shameful forms of suffering: the Nemesis is sometimes terrible; the secret offence is punished with open and public shame. But is it true that all physical suffering, even the sharpest and most agonizing, is the result of wrong-doing?

Is it true that physical suffering is measured by the degree of a man's moral guilt? Is a slight cold which occasions temporary inconvenience the infallible sign of a slight offence? And is a severe and prolonged attack of rheumatism the decisive proof that a man has broken two or three of the greater commandments?

If physical penalties come upon men according to the measure of their vices, and physical rewards according to the measure of their virtues, every saint should be a healthy athlete, and every sinner should be a miserable cripple; methods for the treatment of the sick would be methods for the treatment of a particular class of criminals, and to be in a hospital would be as disgraceful as to be in a gaol.

It is true, I say, that physical sufferings come upon some men for their wickedness, but physical sufferings not less severe come upon other men for unselfish devotion in the discharge of duty. The husband may lie in his bed for weeks, his strength wasted, his life in peril, as the result of his vices: the wife that watches him day and night with a love which his evil ways have not quenched may lose her own health and suffer physical agony for years as the result of her devotion to him.

One man becomes blind through his immoralities, another through his glorious passion for learning. The health of one man is broken because he has spent his days and nights in reckless vice, but the health of another man is broken because, with a feeble constitution, he has given his days and nights to the public service.

The illustrations are endless. The laws of our physical life do not automatically punish or reward us according to the moral character of our work.

Now let us pass to a higher level, where those who maintain this theory suppose that they find the stronghold of their position. It is alleged that we can really see in the moral and spiritual nature of man, if nowhere else, the action of the automatic laws which inflict, and begin to inflict at once, the adequate punishment for every act of sin, and confer, and begin to confer at once, the adequate reward for every act of goodness.

Can we? I should like to hear the proof.

It is said in reply that every offence against moral law is followed, and followed immediately, by injury to the moral life, and that the injury is exactly proportioned to the magnitude of the offence,—that every violation of the claims of God on our love, trust, reverence, obedience, is followed immediately by injury to the spiritual life, and that the injury is exactly proportioned to the magnitude of the violation.

Good moral habits are lessened by every immoral act, and as the result of one vicious indulgence a man is more likely to be guilty of another. His moral perception becomes less clear, his sense of the authority of the moral law is enfeebled, the power of conscience is diminished. And so the ascendancy of the spiritual life over the baser forces of our nature is shaken whenever we decline from our duty to God ; every act of spiritual unfaithfulness dims our vision of God, lessens the vigour of our loyalty to His Will, makes us more accessible to our next temptation and less able to resist it.

This, I say, is the stronghold of those who maintain that automatic laws reward and punish men according to their works. I have stated their case as clearly and fairly as I am able to state it.

I admit the facts, I deny the interpretation of the facts. It is true, no doubt, that every wrong act and word and thought is followed by a certain deterioration of the moral and spiritual life, and the peril of this deterioration is a serious reason for standing immovably firm in our fidelity to duty and to God. But I want to know whether this deterioration is the penalty and the adequate penalty of the act.

Let us try the principle in a concrete case or two ; perhaps I may be allowed to take very homely cases.

A schoolmaster discovers that yesterday a boy told a lie. The boy is called up to his desk, the lie is proved, the master is considering what punishment must be inflicted.

"Sir," says the boy, "I have already been punished. Its full punishment has come upon me already." How ? "Why, sir, as I told you a lie yesterday I found it much easier to tell you another lie this morning, and I have told it." On this theory the second lie ought to protect the boy from all other punishment for the first. He has already suffered deterioration of his moral nature.

Take another case. You find out that a housemaid of yours stole half a crown yesterday ; you call her into your room, you begin to speak to her sharply, you warn her of the penalties of theft. Imagine her protesting against your severity, complaining of the injustice of your reproaches, alleging that she has been already punished, and adequately punished, for the theft. How? She answers that having stolen half a crown yesterday she has found it quite easy to steal half a sovereign this morning : her sin has punished itself by leading her to commit a greater sin. Will you apologise to her? Will you say that you did not know that she had already suffered so much, that you recall your hard words, and are very sorry that after the automatic laws had inflicted the adequate penalty you had added anything to the weight of her punishment. If the automatic laws inflict the adequate punishment, the defence is sound.

To affirm that since a man becomes a worse man as the result of every sin, this is an adequate punishment for his sin, is to play fast and loose with words and to pervert the clear declarations of conscience. Punishment includes pain, the loss of some good the man cares to have. It includes what is symbolically set forth in Scripture by the many stripes which are to punish great sin, the fewer stripes which are to punish sin of less gravity. It includes what is symbolically set forth by the weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth of those who by their sin and their rejection of deliverance from sin have incurred irretrievable ruin. It includes what is symbolically set forth by the fires which burn and destroy the chaff that has been separated from the wheat.

In this world that suffering is not inflicted. A saint suffers keener pain from the reproaches of conscience for a light sin committed thoughtlessly than a wicked man for gross crimes deliberately planned and relentlessly executed.

We shall be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ, that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

## II.

The theory which I am discussing rests upon a confusion between physical laws and moral laws. They bear the same name, but in their nature and in the methods by which we come to know them they are widely different from each other. We discover physical laws by observation. To use the language of Mr. John Stuart Mill, "A certain fact invariably occurs whenever certain circumstances are present, and does not occur when they are absent; the like is true of another fact, and so on. . . . These various uniformities, when ascertained by what is regarded as a sufficient induction, we call in common parlance laws of nature. Scientifically speaking, that title is employed, in a more restricted sense, to designate the uniformities when reduced to their most simple expression."<sup>1</sup>

To take an illustration. We observe that when the thermometer is at 32° water freezes. We call that a law. It always happens. Again, let the barometer stand at 30°, let the temperature be raised to 212°, and the water in an open vessel will begin to boil. But carry the water up a mountain, and it will begin to boil at a lower temperature, because the pressure of air on it is lighter. At the height of 18,000 feet it will boil at 180° instead of 212°. That is very inconvenient if you want to use it for cooking. When it begins to boil it gives off steam; if the vessel is open, the steam passes off, and then no matter how you may increase the heat of the fire the water becomes no hotter. It is boiling, but it is boiling at 180° instead of 212°, and it is not hot enough to cook your potatoes. That, I say, is very

<sup>1</sup> *Logic*, iii., c. iv. 1.

inconvenient, but there is no help for it. It is no use to argue with the water, to entreat it not to boil so soon, to point out the inconvenience to which you are put by its perverse habit. The law is absolute, inevitable.

Now consider the difference between that and any moral law—the law that men ought to tell the truth, for example. You do not discover the moral law in the same way. It is not based upon careful observations which show that men always tell the truth. It does not express any uniformity in the practice of men that has been established by a wide induction. If half, if two-thirds, of the human race were habitual liars, that would not make the law that men ought to tell the truth less certain.

If it can be shown that in a single case an alleged physical law breaks down, it is no law at all; under the same conditions, material things always behave in the same way, and the law is the scientific expression of how they behave. But a moral law does not express how men actually behave, but how they ought to behave. In short a physical law declares what is, what happens always, happens invariably; a moral law declares what ought to be, what ought to happen.

Let me illustrate the contrast.

Nero was afraid that his enemies who wanted to deprive him of the empire might find a useful instrument in his young stepbrother Britannicus, and so one day, when the boy was dining with him, he ordered poison to be put in the boy's wine, and Britannicus died. The poison acted precisely as it always acts under similar conditions. No physical law was violated by the boy's death; physical laws would have been violated if the boy had not died. But a moral law was violated. The moral law declared that Nero ought not to commit murder, and he defied it. There was no moral law that he did not break. He plundered where he did not murder, and his lust was shameless and

ungovernable. Moral laws he could violate, but physical laws are absolute; even the power of an emperor of Rome could not shake their authority.

But you say that his violations of moral laws were punished, awfully punished, adequately punished, because they corrupted and ruined his moral life. That objection brings us back to the argument which I dealt with just now. Perhaps I may as well say a little more about it.

That every crime of which Nero was guilty made him more brutal is no doubt true. There are certain laws—structural laws they might be called—of our moral life which are the expression of uniformities as constant as those which are expressed by the laws of the physical universe, and Nero became a worse man as the result of every fresh wickedness. But the assassination of his mother cannot be described as the punishment of Nero for the poisoning of his stepbrother. Nor can the atrocity of his ingratitude in giving orders to Seneca to put an end to his own life be described as the punishment for his similar atrocity in murdering Burrus. In his successive crimes you cannot believe that he was exhausting the penalties for his previous deeds of injustice and cruelty and lust; he was incurring fresh guilt, he was treasuring up to himself wrath against the day of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God.

In the present and visible order we can nowhere discover the automatic action of the moral laws which Nero violated. They were not automatic in compelling obedience; they were not automatic in avenging the crimes which violated them.

Those who insist that the laws which sustain the order of human life inflict on men, and begin to inflict at once, the full penalty of their crimes, seem to forget that the divine order to which we belong rests on Christ, who is the propitiation for the sin of the world; that we are not

under Law but under Grace. This was known even before the manifestation of Christ in the flesh. Jewish saints had discovered what we are asked to deny, "that God is long-suffering and gracious, slow to anger, and abundant in mercy." They did not believe that they were in the iron grip of a relentless Justice, which seized them as soon as they sinned, and would never let them go until they had suffered the full penalty of their wrong-doing; but that, although the God they worshipped was a righteous God, He was ready to forgive. When they were forgiven they exclaimed, "As far as the east is from the west, so far hast Thou removed our transgressions from us."

And they meant just what they said. They meant that God had done it—done it at the impulse of His infinite mercy and compassion. They did not mean that they themselves, by moral amendment, had succeeded in slipping out of the iron hand which had seized them and tortured them. They did not mean that when they suffered they suffered from the action of automatic laws, and that when they ceased to suffer the automatic laws had ceased to punish. Such a conception of the order of the world would have made a Living God unnecessary. It would have been enough if He had constructed the great machine of the universe and left it to work. He might have passed away to regions of space too remote for the penitent cries of His unhappy creatures to reach Him, and yet when they confessed their sins and asked for His mercy they would have received remission. But they knew that He was near, and that when they entreated Him to be merciful He Himself answered and forgave them.

And this has been the faith of Christian men through eighteen centuries, a faith which has been verified in their experience. They have believed that they were not under the relentless control of an awful system of law, which inflicted on them by its automatic action the just penalties

of every sin, but under the rule of a God who was also a Father, and that the order of human life rested on a stupendous and mysterious sacrifice for the sin of the race. They have believed that they were living not in a prison, where every offence against the rules was at once and adequately punished, but in a home where a righteous Love, a loving Righteousness was supreme.

To declare that the order of human life rests on law—automatic law—not on grace—the grace of God revealed through our Lord Jesus Christ—is to dry up the fountains of Christian joy, to paralyse the strength of Christian faith, to deprive Christian obedience of the force which has been its mightiest inspiration, and to quench the glory of the Christian Gospel.

This theory of automatic laws which inflict, and begin to inflict at once, all the penalties which the sins of men deserve, and which confer, and begin to confer at once, all the rewards of righteousness, is not only a serious speculative error striking at the root of several great Christian doctrines, it places us in a wholly false relation to the actual conditions of life.

If we assume it as the basis of expectation, if we give it any authority over conduct, we shall be subjected to constant disappointment. There is no such certain and invariable connection in this life between sin and its penalty, between righteousness and what may seem to be its natural reward, as this theory affirms. Men may be honest, truthful, industrious, and skilful in their business, but commercial ruin may come upon them from the flagrant dishonesty of people whom they had a right to trust, or from political troubles on the other side of the world.

Acts of self-sacrificing generosity extending over many years are sometimes met with the most disgraceful ingratitude; a single deed of kindness which was done almost with-

out effort sometimes inspires an enduring devotion. One man, under the impulse of sudden temptation, is guilty of a slight offence; he is treated harshly and ruined for life, ruined in fortune, ruined in character; no chance is given him; he is driven into misery, recklessness, despair. Another man is guilty, and guilty deliberately, of a far graver crime; he is treated mercifully, his wrong-doing is concealed, his expressions of penitence are accepted and believed by the only persons who know of his fall, and his subsequent life is honourable and happy. The loyal, upright, zealous servant is distrusted by his employers and is never promoted; the servant who cares nothing for his employer's interests, but humours his weaknesses, attains a partnership. A mere accident gives one man a great position, great honour, and great opportunities of usefulness, another man who has higher qualities is by a mere accident condemned to obscurity. Public honour comes to one man for public services which were not prompted by any strong desire to promote the public interest; another man serves his country for years with an unsparing devotion, and through some misunderstanding or some jealousy his career has an inglorious close. Men do well, and suffer for it; they do ill, and receive praise.

The truth is that during our mortal years we are under probation and discipline. The probation would be less searching, the discipline would be almost worthless, if the rewards of well-doing came to us as soon as we had done well, and if the lash of Justice descended as soon as we had done ill.

Can you remain honest, although while you are honest you have no chance of escaping from poverty, and although a very slight deflection from the line of righteousness would give you ease and wealth? Can you continue, month after month, year after year, to put your whole strength into the duties of your profession although you are winning no

praise, and are often unjustly censured by people who are not competent to form a judgment on your work? Can you serve a man faithfully, serve him with your very best, although he never gives any sign of satisfaction and often makes unreasonable complaints? Can you see other people getting the honours of your work and still work as earnestly and zealously as if the honours came to yourself? Can you be persistent in your kindness though your kindness wins no gratitude? Can you continue to do well though all the immediate and visible rewards of well-doing which it would be very pleasant to receive are denied you? Can you endure injustice, slander, cruelty with impatience and without yielding to a spirit of revenge?

These are the tests of an incorruptible fidelity to God, to our fellow-men, and to conscience, and by these our fidelity is disciplined and perfected.

We are here to be subjected to these tests, and to be disciplined by them to the consummate righteousness for which God created us. Saints of other generations, whose names are an enduring inspiration and glory to the Church, were "hated of all men" for the sake of Christ; the heathen believed that they were guilty of the foulest and most flagrant crimes. In their days to be a Christian was to incur the worst infamy; the choice was given to them to revile Christ or to endure imprisonment and torture, to be flung to the lions, or to die a fiery death. A great chance came to them, and they met it with high courage, sometimes with exulting joy, and so they won their crowns.

To many in these times, though in forms which are less tragic and which appeal less powerfully to the imagination of mankind, there come, as I believe, chances equally great of proving their incorruptible fidelity to Christ, and in meeting the chances with an immovable fortitude the fidelity is perfected. Tests demanding not the decision of one heroic moment but the persistent faithfulness of weary

and exhausting years, tests under which we are not sustained by the presence of crowds of foes, whose very storm of hatred for Christ might provoke to an intenser flame the fires of an enthusiastic love for Him, nor by the presence of comrades and friends whose courage might sustain our own resoluteness and in whose presence we should be ashamed to fall, but which have to be endured in solitude and silence, the conflict and victory alike unknown,—these are in our days the probation and the discipline which have to be endured by many of us.

Automatic laws punishing sin and rewarding righteousness! Why, there are times when it seems to many of us as if there were no righteousness on the throne of the Supreme, as if God had forgotten not only to be gracious, but to be just. For these confusions we should do well to be prepared. We may rely on the grace and goodness of God to enable us to endure injustice but not to protect us from it; nor can we rely upon Him to give us immediate compensation for it. We may rely upon Him to compel the most adverse and cruel conditions of life to contribute to our fitness for ultimate glory and blessedness, but not to make the conditions less adverse or less cruel. Nor have we any sure, adequate grounds for believing that while these hard conditions remain He will give us an intenser joy that will make us almost unconscious of the pain inflicted by outward calamities; the joy, if given, might lessen both the effectiveness of the discipline and the decisiveness of the test.

And yet happiness and righteousness ought to go together, and loss and pain should be the penalty of sin. This is the indestructible conviction of the human heart. Where is the solution of the difficulty? The answer is to be found in the Christian doctrine of Judgment to come. Grace and law will be resolved into a transcendent unity. Those who have received the redemption which Christ has

achieved will be delivered by God's mercy from the awful penalties of their sin, and will inherit a glory transcending their deserts; and yet "we shall all be made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ, that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad."

And to those by whom the Christian redemption is finally rejected, the ruin of their destiny will be aggravated or lessened by the measure of their virtues or their crimes. The gloriously good will be princes, crowned and sceptred among the commonalty of the city of God; for the shamefully wicked there will be fathomless depths of gloom and of despair.

R. W. DALE.

## CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT AND EVOLUTION.

### 5. SPENCER AND ARGYLL ON "ORGANIC EVOLUTION."

THE doctrine of Evolution being left in this apparently helpless condition by Salisbury and his opponents in the fields both of biology and geology, Mr. Herbert Spencer, the greatest champion of this philosophy, enters the arena in the number of the *Nineteenth Century* for November, 1895, and takes up the original issue as raised by Lord Salisbury. In doing so he at once dissociates evolution from Darwin's doctrine of Natural Selection, affirming that this is incompetent to account for the primary origin of living organisms or for their subsequent elevation. In truth even "Nature," as personified by Darwin, approaches too near to the character of a divinity to suit his nescience, and he prefers without her aid to imagine a purely fortuitous or necessary origin and progress of living beings by the interaction of the organism and its environment, which leads to the "survival of the fittest"; and he appeals to

several factors by which, now and in past time, this organic evolution has been promoted, or which at least show analogous changes to those which it demands. He holds, therefore, that if the special Darwinian doctrine were cleared away, his idea of organic evolution would remain intact. It has, however, been pointed out that it would remain merely as a speculation respecting a possible fortuitous origin and progress of an orderly cosmos, without any ascertained cause, and leading only to the conclusion that the fittest to survive will survive, a truism teaching us nothing. All this is lucidly and convincingly stated by the Duke of Argyll in two articles in the March and April numbers of the same Journal, in which he shows that Spencer's organic evolution is either the ordinary and well-known fact of development which all human experience has shown to be the law in nature, whether organic or inorganic, or it is a mere dream having no substantive reality whatever. This will appear very clearly by a few actual examples. We learn from the structure of the earth and the daily changes going on under our observation, that all things are in process of change, gradual or sudden, and that all living things undergo a process of development from microscopic germs, and go on to maturity and decay and replacement by new generations. So, in the rocky strata of the earth, we have evidence that these changes have been going on from the beginning of time, and that the physical features of our continents, and the vast variety of living beings on the land and in the waters, are the results of a long and orderly development from the lower to the higher, from the simpler to the more complex. But it is perfectly possible, as Argyll well puts it, that this development may have taken place under a great creative plan, without accepting either Darwin's idea of Natural Selection, or Spencer's of spontaneous or necessary organic evolution. It may well be that the things which appear are not made of or by the

material things themselves, but by an unseen Power behind all the phenomena—even the word of God. Otherwise, without the Natural Selection of Darwin, and without any means of obtaining the primary material whence to select, we are left without any rational basis for any development whatever.

Darwin himself keenly felt this, and therefore found it necessary to assume what may be termed an original creative act. At the close of his work on the origin of species he introduces this idea in words borrowed from a very old author, the writer of the first chapter of Genesis. He speaks of the Creator "breathing life" into a few organisms or into one, and that from this original inbreathing of life "endless forms, most beautiful and most wonderful, have been and are being evolved." Darwin therefore, unlike Spencer, assumes a Creator, but he does not seem to perceive two consequences that flow from the admission. (1) It is not improbable that the creative process may have been repeated at subsequent times, when it was necessary to introduce any new or special type of being; and this would serve to account for the fact already stated, that while it is possible at least to imagine derivation by descent of closely allied species, we cannot so readily find links to connect the earliest species of new classes with their predecessors.<sup>1</sup> (2) It is scarcely probable that a Creator capable thus of beginning the great and complex procession of life on the earth, would leave it to chance to complete His work, and not rather fix its plan and the laws of its development and final culmination.

We may pause here for a moment to note how much less accurate Darwin is than the old author whom he quotes in this reference to a creative power. In Genesis the inbreathing of God, that "Inspiration of the Almighty," as it is called in the book of Job, is limited to the introduction

<sup>1</sup> This is illustrated in detail in my *Relics of Primeval Life*, ch. i.

of the rational and spiritual nature of man. It is not said of the lower forms of aquatic life which were first introduced, and which have neither "breath of life" in the strict sense, nor any approximation to the Divine likeness. The statement as to them is that God said, "Let the waters bring them forth." Under God, the waters in which they swarm are commissioned to produce them, that they may increase and multiply and fill the ocean. Herein, strange to say, Moses, though not an evolutionist, is more in touch with the grand idea of development than Darwin. The environment is first provided, and is then made to be the medium of the development of its inhabitants.

Returning to Spencer, who finds it necessary in dealing with Salisbury's objections to modify his own previous demand for indefinite time, and to express himself as content with what physical and geological science may be able to allow, it may be well to inquire a little farther into the validity of his contention that all organic nature may be accounted for by the one idea of evolution without natural selection. In doing so, we may carry with us the searching criticism which Argyll applies to these evidences.

1. We may take first the facts of embryology in individual animals considered as a recapitulation of the evolution of their ancestral types in past geological ages. It is easy to adduce apparently good examples of this. The frog is in its young state an aquatic tadpole, without limbs, and breathing by gills like a fish; therefore the ancestors of the frog and other amphibians were fishes. The butterfly in its larval state is a worm-like caterpillar; therefore the insects are descendants of worms. The analogy is, however, not complete. A caterpillar is not a worm, but really an immature insect; and a tadpole is not actually a fish. Besides, there are other reasons, quite independently of recapitulation of an ancestral state, which render such immature stages necessary to the development of the

modern animals in question. Further, the conditions and relations to time in the two processes are quite different. The development of the individual animal is a visible evolution, that of the species cannot be observed, and, if open to observation, might prove very different from ordinary evolution, and might be related to it only on the higher plane of design, or of the similarity of the workings of the Divine mind in different spheres. Further, it may depend rather on the involution which always must precede evolution than on that process itself.

One of the most familiar instances of evolution is that of a chick from an egg, a process which we can observe from hour to hour and from day to day till the microscopic germ, apparently structureless, becomes developed into all the complicated parts of the young bird. In some of the smaller fishes we can even watch this evolution under the microscope continuously, and can note the first appearance of every tissue and organ. In such a case we know that the living germ contains in it potentially, or in the form of invisible organic units,<sup>1</sup> something to represent every part of the animal to be produced. Along with this, there is a store of protoplasmic material, not itself living, but ready to be absorbed as required, to be built up into the several parts as each of them is fashioned. It is a wonderful process, and no one who has seen it in any one instance can ever forget it, or, if at all in a proper frame of mind, can fail to be impressed with the marvellous power and inscrutable adjustments which it implies, and with the mystery which lies behind the visible processes of formation and growth, under the wonder-working energy of life. All this is evolution proper, but there is much more implied in the whole development of which it forms a part. There is the previous involution in the germ of all that we have seen

<sup>1</sup> I may refer in this connection to an interesting paper by Miss Layard, read at the meeting of the British Association, at Ipswich, in 1895.

evolved from it. This includes the antecedent determination of the form, structure, and living powers of the creature to be produced, and of all their relations to the environment in which it is to live and the place it is to occupy in the system of nature. It includes, in the higher animals, energy and material derived from two parents. It includes all that takes place in the ovary of the mother—the fertilization of the embryo cell, its being furnished with a store of suitable pabulum, and, finally, the incubation or whatever other external conditions are necessary to secure the commencement and successful progress of the growth of the embryo.

In this elementary case, then, it is not so much the evolution as the involution that is prepotent and mysterious, and it is here that at this moment the greater part of the minute investigation and warm controversy among biologists is centered. This raises the question—What is there in the succession of individuals in different generations that corresponds to the involution in the individual embryo? One thing we may certainly conclude, that if there is such a thing as transmutation and development of new species, it must be sought for here, rather than in evolution properly so called. Further, with Darwin, we must suppose one or a few perfect organisms given to begin the development, and we must suppose such primary types to include potentially or structurally all that is to be evolved from them in thousands or even millions of generations.

Let it be observed that this is the simplest view that we can take of organic evolution as propounded by Spencer. Is it possible, then, to imagine it as beginning and continuing spontaneously and fortuitously? Must we not rather see in it the development of a Divine plan too vast and intricate for our comprehension, and must we not cease to designate it by a term which can at best cover but one

portion of the great and practically infinite scheme of the development of life. Many years ago a friend of mine, now departed, the late Mr. Higgins of Liverpool, proposed in a paper on this subject the use of the term Development and the abandonment of Evolution, except in its proper sense. I made the same suggestion in 1890 in my little book, *Modern Ideas of Evolution*, and later in *Salient Points in the Science of the Earth*. The Duke of Argyll, in his paper above referred to, has more fully advocated the same idea and illustrated its significance. It is time surely that in the interest of accuracy of thought it should be adopted, and that the loose use of the term Evolution should be left to those popular writers who have already destroyed its scientific value, even in the estimation of those who still believe in the hypothesis respecting organic nature to which it was originally applied.

2. In like manner an analogy can be perceived between the classification of animals in orders and classes in accordance with their degree of complexity, or with their type or pattern (or, to use the slang of certain artists and antiquaries, their "*motif*"), and their succession in geological time. But here we are met by that difficulty of explaining the first appearance of classes and orders referred to by Zittel and previously noticed. Besides, this point of view rather inclines us to compare nature with certain human works of art, in which we perceive, as the result of design, the same union of type or pattern with utilitarian purpose; as, for example, the erection of buildings in accordance with particular orders of architecture, or the growth of Egyptian temples by the addition of successive halls and propyla, all in similar style. We are not usually inclined to refer such things to chance or to mere mechanical necessity. Here we may also observe that the anti-Darwinian fixity of specific and generic characters alone enables us to classify the oldest and the most modern

animals or plants in the same systems of arrangement, so that all the animals and all the plants, from the beginning of geological time, go into respectively the same zoological and botanical classifications, a fact which tells in favour of one great comprehensive plan, rather than of indefinite and fortuitous variation.

3. In the case of geographical distribution we have a different consideration, which relates not so much to style or complexity as to position. It is true that in some more or less detached continental or insular areas, as in South America, Australia, and New Zealand, we see special groups of animals that are closely allied to those that occupied the same areas in the later geological periods; but it is not necessary to suppose that the extinct species were transformed into the modern ones, which are, besides, generally degenerate in size, like the modern sloths of South America in comparison with the great ground-sloths of previous periods, or the modern Kiwi, or Apteryx, of New Zealand, in comparison with the gigantic *Dinornis*. It seems more likely that of a group of animals of different statures only the smaller species have been able to survive owing to changed conditions. Besides, investigation has extended the range of some of the supposed local groups, and weeding out of the larger and more massive types has been general in the early modern period on all the continents.

4. In the case of rudimentary organs appealed to as remnants of structures fully developed in remote ancestors, some of these are still useful, though the uses of others may not be understood. Others are provisions for contingencies or future needs; and this, as Argyll has well pointed out, is explicable only on the supposition of a deliberate plan extending into the future.

I may here leave the hypothesis of evolution, as held by Darwin and Spencer, as one deprived by its own advocates

of any good foundation in nature, when regarded as an explanation of the origin and succession of species; and may refer to the papers of the Duke of Argyll, already cited, as fully showing that this conclusion is inevitable, and that Spencer and Darwin take their followers very nearly into the same position with that of the pre-Newtonian physicists, who explained the rise of water in a pump by the aphorism that "Nature abhors a vacuum." So Spencer endeavours to show us that among the varieties of organic beings "Nature abhors the unfit," and the Natural Selection of Darwin is merely the converse of this, to the effect that "Nature selects the fittest." Neither of these dicta, however, exempts us from the necessity of enquiry as to the First Cause, and under Him the secondary causes, if any, of the vast and complicated succession of living things that have inhabited and now inhabit the earth.

J. W. DAWSON.

*(To be concluded.)*

## THE BAPTISM OF JESUS.

### I.

THE generation of Jews to which our Lord belonged was rich in possessing two samples of God's best gift to the world—men of prophetic vision, and devoted to the highest interests of humanity. If only they had known how to value them! But of John they said, "He hath a devil"; and of Jesus, "Behold, a man gluttonous and a wine-bibber"! Not so did the two servants of God think of each other. Even when his mind was clouded with doubt as to the precise vocation of Jesus, John had no doubt at all as to His high endowments and worth. The question, "Art Thou He that should come?" could only have been addressed to one conceived capable of being a Christ. How

generously Jesus thought and spoke of John, while fully aware of his limits, we know from the occasional encomiums recorded in the Gospels. But sufficient evidence of high esteem is supplied in the one fact that the fame of the Baptist drew Jesus from Nazareth to the Jordan.

John's ministry preceded that of Jesus, and is briefly reported by the Evangelists as its prelude. It was a ministry of an entirely distinct type—a ministry of *condemnation*. John was the severe moral censor of his time. His way of life was congruous to his function, and gave it momentum: austere, ascetic, aloof; attire rude, diet spare and mean. The burden of his preaching was "Repent!" To enforce the solemn message he used a symbolic rite—baptism in the river; in this, as in his mode of life, showing himself, like all the Hebrew prophets, alive to the power of religious symbolism over the imagination. Whether his baptism was original or not, it was in any case fitting, an impressive, easily understood emblem of death to an old life of sin and resurrection to a new life of righteousness.

In the quiet retreat of Nazareth Jesus heard of this man, of his aspect, his preaching, and his rite; and, irresistibly drawn to the scene of his work, went forth to see, to listen, and even to be baptized. That He should wish to see the man of whom all spoke in awestruck tones is intelligible; that He could listen with interest and sympathy to his preaching is not surprising in one who could appreciate every spiritual movement that was genuine and earnest, however diverse from His own. But to be *baptized*! Was He too a sinner then? Had He a troubled conscience? Did He feel the need of going to the Jordan that moral defilement might be carried by its swift stream down to the Dead Sea?

The baptism of our Lord raises for us a psychological problem. According to the first Evangelist it was a problem for the Baptist, and it is not improbable that the

subject exercised the thoughts of the apostolic Church. We may even learn from the narratives of the Evangelists, compared with each other, the stages of the mental process through which that Church passed in reference to this part of the evangelic tradition. The report of Mark, as was to be expected from the archaic Gospel, represents the stage of simple, unhesitating acceptance of the baptism of Jesus as a matter of fact; that of Matthew the more advanced stage of doubting reflection; that of Luke the final stage of acquiescence in an incident in the history of the Lord Jesus which was known to have caused perplexity, but was now regarded either as a matter sufficiently explained or as not admitting of further explanation. Mark simply states that Jesus was baptized, as if it were a matter of course.<sup>1</sup> Matthew represents John as offering objections, and receiving from Jesus a reply which, if it did not completely remove his scruples, at least induced him to offer no further opposition. Luke touches the incident in a slight manner, in a participial clause, as if hurrying over a fact which could not be denied, but which He knew to be beset with difficulty.

The doubting stage is very distinctly reflected in the conversation between the Baptist and our Lord as reported in Matthew. But in the light of that conversation one can discover, even in Luke's narrative, some traces of a consciousness that doubt had been, or that there was a risk of misunderstanding. Both in the report of the temptation and in that of the baptism Luke writes as one who feels that misapprehension needs to be guarded against. In both events he sees the shadow of sin, and he is solicitous that it may not reach the person of the Holy One. In the story of the temptation he accomplishes the end by representing Jesus as retiring from the Jordan into the wilderness "full of the Holy Ghost";<sup>2</sup> in that of the

<sup>1</sup> Mark i. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Luke iv. 1.

baptism the means he employs is to associate the transaction with prayer. His words are, "Jesus also, having been baptized, and being engaged in prayer,"<sup>1</sup> after which he goes on to report the descent of the Spirit and the voice from heaven, these being the things which he is chiefly concerned to relate, what goes before simply serving to date the preternatural phenomena. It is noticeable that in indicating the time at which these occurred, he refers not only to the baptism of Jesus, but to the baptism of the people collectively. What he says is in effect this: "The heaven was opened, when all the people was baptized, and in particular after Jesus had been baptized, and when He was in the act of praying." The reference to the general baptism is too vague to be of much use for dating the celestial event, and it can hardly have been introduced for that purpose. The connexion in the writer's mind rather is between the general baptism of the people and the particular baptism of Jesus. The suggestion is: Jesus was baptized in connexion with a great collective administration of the rite; He was included in the movement; He was no exception. Does the Evangelist mean not merely to state the fact, but to hint at a reason?—to say, "Because all the people was baptized, therefore Jesus also was baptized, so expressing sympathy, and maintaining solidarity with His penitent fellow-countrymen"? If so, then he had a glimpse into the heart of the matter, as will appear.

Returning to Matthew, we find John giving as his reason for unwillingness to baptize Jesus: "I have need to be baptized of Thee, and comest Thou to me?"<sup>2</sup> which may be taken to mean, "If either of us is to be baptized, it should be I by you, not you by me." John's professed sense of need for baptism is not to be pressed. Before Jesus came and asked for baptism it probably never crossed

<sup>1</sup> Luke iii. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. iii. 14.

John's mind that he himself, as well as the people who had come to hear him preach repentance, ought to be baptized. His whole attitude had been that of a *censor*, not of a fellow-sinner. Jesus, on the other hand, felt a strong desire to be baptized. Here therefore we are at once confronted with a radical difference between the two prophetic personalities. John stands alone and apart from the people, and from this position of superiority and aloofness preaches to them the duty of repentance, and summons them to undergo baptism as the outward symbol of a penitent spirit. Jesus, on the contrary, takes His place among the people and on a level with them; with them listens meekly to the preacher's stern denunciation of the sin of Israel, and, along with those whose hearts have been touched, comes and offers Himself as a candidate for baptism. The act must mean one of two things: either consciousness of personal shortcoming, or profound, intense sympathy with the sinful obliterating all sense of separateness. Such sympathy, if deep enough, would fully account for the behaviour of Jesus. Intense love always makes the good fellow-sinners with the evil. A saintly father's shame over a son's misconduct brings him down in feeling to the son's moral level. In rude primitive ages this moral solidarity found recognition in the infliction of the penalty due to the offence of a single member of a family upon the whole family. Blood, it was held, made all alike sinners. Put love instead of blood, and you have a law of the moral order holding good for all time, and for the highest civilization, and for the loftiest and purest moral consciousness, making holiest and unholy one, the holy one not ashamed to call the unholy his brethren.

It is in this direction, it appears to me, that we must find the explanation and significance of our Lord's baptism. Various solutions of the problem have been suggested which it would be tedious to enumerate. One of the most feasible

is that in receiving baptism Jesus consciously bid farewell,—died, so to speak,—to the old life in Nazareth, with its natural relations to parents, neighbours, and earthly vocation, and consecrated Himself to His higher Messianic calling. This in all probability was one aspect of the transaction, but it can hardly have exhausted its meaning. It leaves out of view just that which constituted the specific feature of John's baptism, its connexion with sin and repentance. Had Christ's baptism signified no more than this, it would have amounted to utilising a rite instituted for one purpose for another, kindred perhaps, but far from identical. Practically the assumption of those who favour this view is that self-consecration to the new Messianic career was all that baptism could mean for a perfectly holy being. But the question is, Was it all it could mean for a perfectly *loving* being?

Self-consecration may have been included in the significance of the symbolic rite as applied to Jesus; but, far from exhausting its import, it was not even the chief element in the case. The solemn transaction had many sides. It was for one thing an emphatic profession of *solidarity with John*. Thereby more impressively than by words Jesus recognised the Baptist as God's messenger to his generation, and his baptism, and all that it represented, as "from heaven" and not "of men." Jesus did not come to the Jordan to look on at a distance, like the Pharisees and Sadducees, in an attitude of suspicion, or of careful uncommittedness, or of amused interest in a curious but exhilarating outburst of fanaticism. Neither did He come to patronise a movement which He thought on the whole worthy of countenance though disfigured with eccentricities, and to pay John compliments for the good he was manifestly doing. He came rather as an earnest sympathiser, deeply impressed with what was going on, and cherishing unfeigned respect and even reverence for the

chief agent. "What went ye out to see?" He asked the people who had visited the scene, on a certain occasion. He, for His part, had gone out to see one whom He deemed in some respects the greatest of the prophetic race to which he belonged, God's most remarkable and valuable gift to Israel. And this, for one thing, He meant to say, by going forward to John and demanding baptism.

This, but not this alone. Jesus meant to proclaim His solidarity not with John only, but also *with the people*; not only with the unsparing denouncer of sin, but likewise with the denounced sinners. Thus He would "fulfil all righteousness," as He gave John to understand it was meet He should do.<sup>1</sup> "All righteousness," rather righteousness under every aspect, the reference being not to detailed duties coming under the general conception of righteousness, but to varying conceptions of the *nature* of righteousness. The remarkable expression is intentionally vague, Jesus, in using it, being fully aware that there were aspects or forms of righteousness which John could not be made to understand. He could understand and be gratified by Christ's appreciation of his own ministry of condemnation, as expressed in submission to baptism; but in so far as that act signified sympathy with the people condemned it could only puzzle and perplex him. It would hardly so much as enter into his mind that it could possibly bear such a meaning. But we cannot doubt that it was present to the mind of Jesus when He spoke of fulfilling every form of righteousness. He had in view two complementary, we might even call them in some respects opposed, or apparently incompatible, aspects of righteousness: sympathy with the preacher of repentance, and sympathy with his audience. Or, looking at the matter in relation to abstract principle rather than to persons, we may discriminate the two types as consisting, on the one hand, in respect for the

<sup>1</sup> Matt. iii. 15.

righteousness of the law represented by John, and, on the other, in respect for the righteousness of love or of grace, which was to be the characteristic of the new era that was coming in. Then, and at all times, Jesus showed Himself both willing and able to fulfil righteousness in both these aspects. At His baptism He did justice to John and also to the people. He expressed His appreciation for the old "way of righteousness,"<sup>1</sup> with its severe negative idea of holiness as consisting in aloofness from moral evil, and at the same time He inaugurated a new way in which holiness was to manifest itself through gracious fraternal relations with the unholy.

John was out and out of the old way. His very conception of Messiah was coloured by legalism. His "coming One" was simply one who was coming to judge with fan and axe in hand. The very *πνεῦμα* which was to be the element employed in the Messianic baptism was for him simply a holy wind of judgment that should sweep away the chaff separated from the wheat by the judicial fan. He belonged in spirit wholly to the era then closing; not a Christian, outside the new kingdom of heaven about to begin, to the last simply bewildered by its surprising phenomena, unable to sympathise with its characteristic spirit.<sup>2</sup>

With this idea of the Baptist in our minds we see that the baptism of Jesus had a twofold significance in reference to him. It symbolically expressed *criticism* as well as approval, and proclaimed him weak as well as strong; represented him as one who, while possessing great sub-

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxi. 32.

<sup>2</sup> The above is the idea of John suggested by all the data in the Synoptical Gospels, naturally interpreted. It is otherwise in the Fourth Gospel. John there appears Christianised. It serves no good purpose to soften down or explain away the Synoptical statements, in a harmonistic interest, so as to bring the two representations into accord. The difference should be allowed to appear unmitigated, and the problem of reconciliation then attempted on the basis of acknowledged diversity. This is a small part of a large problem.

stantial merits, was subject to serious limitations. By His baptism, in short, Jesus declared, through a symbol, what He afterwards said in words when He pronounced John to be the greatest of prophets, yet less than the least in the kingdom of God.<sup>1</sup>

Whether John was alive to this critical aspect of Christ's baptism we know not; it certainly offered matter for serious reflection. It is not likely that that baptism would be more than a puzzle to him: a moral stumbling-block, a source of misapprehension as to the character of Jesus. This it would almost inevitably be to bystanders. The people who looked on while Jesus was immersed in the Jordan would take for granted that He thereby confessed Himself to be a fellow-sinner. Nothing short of the most solemn protestation and the most careful explanation of the real meaning of the transaction could prevent that inference from being drawn, if even these would suffice. There is no reason to believe that either the protestation or the explanation was forthcoming. Jesus was content to be misjudged, to pass for a sinner *pro tempore*. The question, of course, arises in our minds, Did prudence not dictate careful avoidance of such a serious misunderstanding? in other words, abstinence from baptism for fear of what men would think? The question cuts deep, and points to a policy involving many applications. On the same ground Jesus would have found it necessary to avoid meeting and eating with publicans and sinners, to abstain from fellowship in prayer, especially such as contained confession of sin, with His disciples, to shun the cross which held Him up to the view of the world as a criminal. Nay, the policy of prudent regard to reputation virtually interdicts the Incarnation, whereby Jesus came at least "in the likeness of sinful flesh," and as one living in the flesh could not but be thought by the world subject to such moral infirmities

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xi. 11.

as have their seat in the body. Indeed, one of the leading objections to the Incarnation taken by Celsus was that it subjected the Divine Being to degradation.

All these cases belong to the same category as the baptism. The question therefore must be looked at broadly in order to be wisely answered in any one instance. Thus, *e.g.*, it may be plausibly contended, as it has been recently in an able and valuable book,<sup>1</sup> that Jesus did not and could not have fellowship in prayer with His disciples. Now, it is quite true that the Gospels contain no clear statement to the contrary effect, and that He *could* not have such fellowship may be plausibly shown by such reasoning as the following: "If Jesus practised family prayer, as the head of a household, either it contained, or it did not contain, the element of confession. If it did, it gave the disciples a false impression of *His* character; if it did not, it led to a false idea of *their own*."<sup>2</sup> It is a cleverly stated and apparently formidable dilemma, but escape is not impossible. The first horn is the weak one. It assumes that Jesus, out of regard to His sinlessness, was under the necessity of shaping His conduct so that no misunderstanding as to His character should arise. If that were indeed so, then with reverence it may be said that He was placed in a very unhappy predicament. Practically it amounted to this, that "sinlessness" doomed Him to an aloofness which meant death to fraternity, to brotherly fellowship with intimate companions in the practice of religion, to close comrade-like relations with persons of evil repute, to crucifixion between two thieves; in one word, death to *love*, which is the fulfilling of all righteousness. The question forces itself on us, Can this be sinlessness? Can we conceive of a sinless being consciously, deliberately,

<sup>1</sup> *The Christ of History and of Experience*, by D. W. Forrest, being the third course of Kerr Lectures.

<sup>2</sup> Forrest's Lectures, p. 25.

taking up this attitude towards His faithful companions: "I am sorry that out of regard to my sinlessness I cannot pray with you. Of course you must confess sin, and in such confession I cannot join; therefore you must pray by yourselves"? The further question has to be faced, In what other instance did Jesus follow this imaginary policy of aloofness with a view to prevent a false impression of His character? And if in no other case, why in this? Why should we doubt that Jesus not only acted on the Messianic motto, "In the midst of the Church will I sing *praise* unto Thee,"<sup>1</sup> but joined habitually with His friends in prayer also, even in prayer containing confession of sin?

False impressions, serious misunderstandings—doubtless these will arise. "It must needs be that offences come." Grave enough sometimes; think of that one, for example, "a man gluttonous and a winebibber, a friend of publicans and sinners." That was what came of the meeting with publicans and sinners in Capernaum. Truly tragic, but it could not be helped. Helping it by aloofness in the supposed interest of sinlessness would be a spurious Pharisaic holiness,—would indeed, in the view of Jesus, be sin. A harder, nobler, more heroic way was the only one open to Him. It is the doom of perfect love that, while it excludes the *reality* of sin, it inevitably involves the *appearance* of it,—an appearance not to be shunned, but meekly borne. The only remedy is time. Love must wait for the favourable verdict of its own children, and in their implicit trust and absolute devotion find compensation for all the hard thoughts and evil surmises it has had to endure.

Jesus consistently followed this course. He meekly bore and bided His time. He took misconstruction very calmly. "Whosoever," said He, "speaketh a word against the Son

<sup>1</sup> Heb. ii. 12.

of man it shall be forgiven him,"<sup>1</sup> not meaning forgiven barely or with difficulty, but forgiven as easily and readily in His case as in the case of other men. Nay, forgiven more easily, because in His case misunderstanding was exceptionally apt to arise, and was on that account the more excusable. How could such a love as His obey its own divinely gracious impulses, boldly, fearlessly, regardless of current opinion and conventional barriers, and expect to escape censure? Jesus did not expect to escape. He was prepared for the most outrageous calumnies, and when they came he quoted them as quietly as if they had been uttered about another person.<sup>2</sup> Far from being surprised or hurt when His conduct created doubt, suspicion or grave misconception, He was rather thankful that there were any exceptions. "Blessed is he, whosoever shall not be offended in Me."<sup>3</sup> He accounted the man who did not find in Him and His ways a stumbling-block the exception,—the man of rare discernment, and as blessed as it was rare. He was specially impressed with the rarity of this type of man when He learned that even the Baptist did not belong to the class.

The expression "blessed" (*μακάριος*) shows that Jesus was far from being indifferent to good name and favourable opinion. Contrariwise He passionately longed, thirsted, for appreciation, as is the way of great, loving hearts. But He understood that appreciation of any real value must come from men who *knew* Him, who had intelligent acquaintance and sincere sympathy with His spirit and aims, and who were themselves spiritually His own creation, the fruit of His teaching and personal influence. This was what He meant when He uttered the notable reflection: "Wisdom is justified of her *children*," or her *works*.<sup>4</sup> The two readings come to the same thing. It is an appeal from

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xii. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xi. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. xi. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. xi. 19.

the present to the future,—from the old dying era that cannot understand, to the new era coming in that will understand,—from the existing generation that is full of prejudice, and can only see faults and even vices and crimes and blasphemies and intolerable impieties, to a generation that shall arise and bless the calumniated one, because by His much misunderstood love He has made them what they are, and they are the offspring of His soul's bitter travail. It is an appeal from the Pharisaic Simons, who say, "If this man had been a prophet," to the sinful women, who, much forgiven, greatly love,—from conceited Rabbis to teachable disciples,—from the wise and understanding to the "babes." Wisdom, love, is justified by her works, and her children, sooner or later; and with this justification she is well content. She may be very imperfectly understood even by her children for a time, but that does not disturb her serenity. She can wait for their maturer judgment. Doubtless the conduct of Jesus was sometimes a mystery to His own disciples. His very prayers may have puzzled them and raised in their minds questions they could not answer. But He offered no premature solutions, gave no over-solicitous assurances, but left them to find out for themselves, through growing intimacy, that their Master was indeed "the Holy One of God."<sup>1</sup>

This was the true path for One who was working for all time, and was destined to become the Saviour of the world. The unheroic path of egoistic prudence may be left to such as wish to get through the world as quietly as possible and do nothing worthy of mention. The two ways lie far apart, and it is beyond the wit of the wisest to walk in them both. You must choose your road and choose once for all. You cannot be a hero to-morrow and a prudential man to-day. You must begin as you mean to end. Jesus began as He

<sup>1</sup> John vi. 69.

ended. He began with baptism and ended with crucifixion ; and beginning, middle and end were connected by one uniform principle of action which dictated this programme : gracious love to sinful humanity, ever true to itself, constantly exposing itself to reproach, and content to bear it, supported meanwhile by a good conscience and the approving voice from heaven, "Thou art My beloved Son," and looking with calm confidence to the future for the justification of redeemed men.

How ample is that justification at this date ! The most misunderstood of men now passionately loved and worshipped as the Friend of sinners, not ashamed to call them brethren ! Not ashamed indeed, but not through lack of temptation more subtle and plausible than any of those experienced in the desert. How elementary the temptation "make bread out of stones" compared with that contained in the suggestion "If Thou be the Son of God, make it Thy first business to guard Thy reputation for holiness" ! That came from Satan, but this comes from friends jealous for the Master's honour. Jesus shewed Himself Divine by turning a deaf ear to all such seemingly wise counsel. For the God of the Bible does not make it His highest concern to guard His good name against the misunderstanding of those who have no insight into His gracious spirit and purpose. He swears oaths as if His word could not be trusted. He employs very faulty men as the agents of revelation, a thing which the sceptical wiseacres of the eighteenth century thought it very improper for Him to do. "A revelation must take the form of a catechism and be given through exceptionally good men," said Reimarus. Let us be thankful that the fact is altogether otherwise, and that God is neither a god of the Epicurean type, finding His felicity in heartless neglect of the world, nor a god of the Pharisaic type, guarding His holiness by aloofness from the world's sin, but a God like Jesus, whose inmost nature

is love, and who condescends to enter into the most intimate relations with greatly erring men for their highest good.

A. B. BRUCE.

# NOTES ON THE BOOK OF GENESIS IN HEBREW.

WHILE using the latest edition of Spurrell's *Notes on the Book of Genesis*<sup>1</sup> I have collected a number of additional observations, which, I venture to think, will be found interesting to English admirers of that excellent work.

In the very first verse of the first chapter Spurrell decides rightly in favour of the absolute sense of בְּרֵאשִׁית, and disapproves of that construction which treats the word as a *status constructus* with בְּרָא (*b'rō* or *bāra*) which follows, on the ground that v. 2 forms a parenthesis and the conclusion begins in v. 3. He justly remarks that the absolute sense of בְּרֵאשִׁית may be inferred even in the absence of the article in the vocalisation of ב. For other adverbs also are pronounced without the article in spite of their absolute sense. I may add the following to the three examples given by Spurrell:—מֵרֵאשִׁית appears in Isaiah 46.

<sup>1</sup> I regard as a specially valuable part of the *Notes* the materials which Spurrell has provided out of the old versions. In the employment of these old documents he has followed a course which has always presented itself to me as an ideal, one which most commentators have unfortunately failed to take. For the practice in most commentaries has been to state only how a single portion of the text has been presented in the particular version, and possibly to add this or that phrase from the actual language of the version. This secures for the reader of the commentary no true insight into the context of the version, on which, after all, the true understanding of the single expression often depends. It is also praiseworthy that Spurrell quotes here and there the actual language of a mediaeval Jewish commentary, as, for example, Rashi (pp. 5, 29), and appends complete literal translations to all his oriental quotations. He has thus adopted the excellent practice of August Wünsche, in his very instructive commentaries on Hosea and on Joel, as well as of Gustav Baur in his able and thorough *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Weissagung* (vol. i., 1861).

10 in the absolute sense, "from the beginning"; so מֵרֵאשִׁית signifies "from the absolute beginning" in Isaiah 40. 21; 41. 4, 26; 48. 16; Proverbs 8. 23; Ecclesiastes 3. 11. Further, "a tempore occulto, i.e. æterno," is represented once by מִהֶעֱלָם (Ps. 41. 14), but nineteen times by מֵעֵלָם (Gen. 6. 4, etc.; Ps. 90. 2, etc.) and we find *always* לְעֵלָם (Gen. 3. 22, etc.). Further, the expression יִקְדָּם for "the front" existed (Gen. 10. 30), and nevertheless it was always used in the absolute sense without the article, מִקְדָּם, locally, = "from before" (Isa. 9. 11), and temporally, = "from of old" (Isa. 45. 21; 46. 10; Mic. 5. 1; Hab. 1. 12; Ps. 74. 12, etc.). In the same way לְפָנַיִם, "formerly," was pronounced, Deuteronomy 2. 10, etc.

It is moreover easy to explain psychologically that in formal expressions in common use the omission of the emphatic demonstrative *ha* established itself. We find, for example, for the idea "until morning," alongside עַד־בֹּקֶר (Exod. 16. 23 f.; 29. 34; Lev. 6. 2; Jud. 6. 31; 19. 25; 1 Sam. 3. 15; 2 Kings 10. 8; Prov. 7. 18; Ruth 3. 13 f.) the form without the article, עַד־בֹּקֶר (Exod. 12. 10, 22, cf. 14. 27; 16. 19; 23. 18; Lev. 7. 15; 19. 23; 22. 30; Num. 9. 12, 15), and in poetry, Isaiah 38. 13.

Thus, in order to stamp the absolute sense of בְּרֵאשִׁית in Genesis 1. 1, there is no necessity for the pronunciation בְּרֵאשִׁית, as it is reflected in the transcription *βαρασηθ* referred to by De Lagarde (*Symmicta*, i. 113). Moreover the same consideration disposes of the remark of Nestle: <sup>1</sup> "In case that the first word of the Bible indicates by the very act that the article is wanting a late and Aramaic origin for the section, how instructive it would be to have a collation of the Syriac adverbial expressions like that which is given for the *Geoponika* in §§ 2 and 66."

<sup>1</sup> Eberhard Nestle, *Z.M.D.G.*, 1889, p. 705, in a review of Sprenger, *Darlegung der Grundsätze nach denen die Syrische Uebertragung der Griechischen Geoponika gearbeitet worden ist*.

Moreover the accentuators also understood בראשית in the absolute sense. For they separated that word from those which follow by the strong distinctive Tiphcha. Some further light is thrown on this by the course they followed in punctuating Hosea 1. 2, which stands in closest parallelism with Genesis 1. 1. There they punctuated תְּחִלָּת with the strong conjunctive Merka, and so indicated that תְּחִלָּת must stand in closest relation, and be translated along with what follows: "the beginning of that which Jehovah spake to Hosea, consisted herein that He said," etc. On the other hand, in בְּיוֹם דִּבֶּר (Deut. 4. 15) the distinctive Rebîa' indicates the meaning "on the day, when He spoke," and not "on the day of speaking." There is no more necessity for a genitive relation between בראשית and ברא in Genesis 1. 1, than there is between בְּיוֹם and דִּבֶּר here.

There is a case in which I cannot agree with Spurrell, in Genesis 1. 11. There עֵשֶׂב is not "in apposition" to דִּשָּׁא, but forms the second member in the threefold detail of the plant-covering of the globe. The enumeration of the three elements in this covering is asyndetic, as, for example, in 10. 5 (and in the Peshitto), where, however, the LXX. inserts a καί, and the Samaritans, not indeed in their text, but in their ordinary reading of Genesis, introduce an "and."<sup>1</sup> Asyndetic in like manner is the enumeration in Genesis 13. 10, where again the Samaritans have the asyndeton in both text and pronunciation,<sup>2</sup> and only the LXX. and the Peshitto insert an "and" (καί, ܐܝܢ, w'aikh). That עֵשֶׂב, in 1. 11, should not be taken as in apposition is further confirmed by v. 12, where the very same elements of the plant-world are enumerated syndetically. For while עֵשֶׂב is there linked with וְעֵץ, it is at the same time separated from the foregoing דִּשָּׁא, and marked as an independent member of the enumeration.

<sup>1</sup> Petermann, *Versuch einer Hebräischen Formenlehre nach der Aussprach der heutigen Samaritaner* (1868), p. 170: eugôji'imma.

<sup>2</sup> Petermann, *ut supra*, kagen šema kaareṣ miṣrēm bākā šārā.

I am prepared to agree almost entirely with Spurrell in regard to the grammatical construction of נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה in 1. 20a. This expression is not a *Genetivus possessivus*, for the preceding שָׂרָץ is a *nomen concretum*, as the LXX. has indicated by ἐπρητά. It is, however, a *Genetivus appositionis*, so that the meaning is "a mass which consists of living creatures." Generally the same genitive of apposition or identity is found in the German expressions, "eine Fülle von Geist" or "eine Menge von Volk," and the same kind of genitive lies in the previous מְלֵא הַגּוֹיִם (Gen. 48. 19b), "the full whole, which the nations form." This is also the judgment passed upon the words נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה by the accentuators. For while they put a Tiphcha after שָׂרָץ, they desired to mark it as relatively distinct from the following phrase (this in opposition to Delitzsch). The Peshitto had the same purpose in putting the *status emphaticus*, *rachša*<sup>1</sup> over against the *status absolutus*, רֶחֱשָׁא, which Onkelos had chosen. Spurrell may have had the very same ideas in his mediating expression, "explanatory apposition." The phrase נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה is therefore neither simply "genitive" (Delitzsch and others), nor simply "apposition" (Dillmann and others).

Again, in 1. 21b Spurrell has properly taken כְּנָף as a substantive, whereas Delitzsch regarded it as an adjective, "winged" (*alatus*). But Spurrell produces no new material for the decision. One decisive consideration seems to me to lie in the fact that the description צִפּוֹר כְּנָף appears four times in the Old Testament, viz. Genesis 1. 21b; Deuteronomy 4. 17; Psalm 78. 27, and 148. 10. Delitzsch founded his rendering of כְּנָף above mentioned mainly upon Genesis 7. 14b. Nevertheless, even in כְּל־כְּנָף (Gen. 7. 14b, and Ezek. 17. 23) *kānāph* is intended as a substantive, and כְּל־כְּנָף as a genitive of

<sup>1</sup> رَحْشَا; "reptile," bei Brockelmann, *Lex. syr.*, 1895, s.v.

quality. The proof can be led into the greatest probability by means of these two points. In the first place a comparison of all the passages shows that *kōl-kanāph* occurs in two other places in the Old Testament as genitive of quality, viz., in *כָּל-כָּנָף*, *צֶפֶר*, Ezekiel 39. 4, 17. It is clear also that the *totality* of winged creatures is meant to be described under the expression *כָּל-יְדָעוּי לְמִינֵהוּ* (Gen. 7. 14b), where this expression, according to its context, comprises the third main section of living things. The immediately following apposition *כָּל-צִפּוֹר כָּל-כָּנָף* was only intended to explicate the contents of the previous expression, but *not* to add to it a further kind of winged creatures.

I have particular pleasure in signifying my agreement with Spurrell in his interpretation of the passage, Genesis 4. 1b, important as it is for the history of religion. For I can bring forward new material by which the right exegesis of this old *crux interpretum* can be firmly established. The question in 4. 1b is concerning the true sense of the exclamation with which Eve greeted the birth of her first son, "I have obtained a man *אֶת-יְהוָה*."

Spurrell, in the first place, rightly recalls the fact that the phrase in question is reproduced in the LXX. by *διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, in Jerome by "per Deum," and in Onkelos by *מִן קֳדָם יְיָ*.<sup>1</sup> According to these analogies Spurrell claims "with Jehovah," as the most correct translation, but at the same time he does not escape a particular uncertainty. This betrays itself in the words which he adds, which are themselves a fine example of exegetic conscientiousness, such as does not venture to assert more than can be concluded from the available arguments. He says, "Elsewhere, to be

<sup>1</sup> For the understanding of this phrase "from before Jehovah," I may recall the rôle which the insertion of the preposition *q'dām* before the Divine name played in the transcendental development of the Jewish idea of God (cf. my *Einleitung in das A.T.*, p. 101 f.). The idea was to derive operations by means of which God had interfered in the movements of the world not direct from the Godhead itself, but only from its environment.

sure, we find עִם used in this sense and not אִתּוֹ; cf., for example, 1 Samuel 14. 46, בִּי עִם אֱלֹהִים עָשָׂה; still אִתּוֹ may be regarded as synonymous with עִם, as may be inferred from its alternative usage with עִם in the phrase 'to be with one,' i.e., 'help him,' cf. 26. 3, עִמָּךְ with 21. 20, אִתּוֹ הִנֵּעַר; 28. 15, 31. 3, עִם; but 26. 24, 39. 2, אִתּוֹ." Pretty much the same justification for this way of taking אִתּוֹ יְהוָה, for which Spurrell decides, is given by the other recent commentaries which are known to me. Delitzsch and Dillmann give almost the same words, and Strack does not add a single word to his explanation, "אִתּוֹ, by the help of."

I have found some new material, however. I was particularly led to a renewed examination of Genesis iv. 1b through an essay which appeared in 1893 under the title "Der erste Fehler der neuen Bibel."<sup>1</sup> The contentions of this essay find their climax in the following words: "Here (that is in Gen. 4. 1b) all depends upon the little word אִתּוֹ, which stands before 'Lord.' Does that signify the accusative, or does it signify 'with'? No doubt it does also mean 'with'; but much more rarely, and never when it could be understood as the accusative."

I grant that at first I could only bring against these positions the formal objection that it was of no importance whether אִתּוֹ was found "more rarely" with the signification "with." But before the closing words of this statement I stood defenceless. For, on the ground of the collation which I had made up to that time, I could only point to what follows.

אִתּוֹ is used to indicate the point of departure of Divine help in the Massoretic text of Genesis 49. 25a. Nevertheless in that passage it is possible, though not probable,

<sup>1</sup> Döderlein in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* (formerly edited by Hengstenberg), 1893, col. 548 f., published a fierce attack upon the translation of Genesis iv. 1b, which was supported by Delitzsch and Dillmann, and has been accepted in the Revised Luther-Version.



the thorns (קִיץִים) are not linked with the preceding "vestram carnem" as a further object of דָּרַשׁ. There remains, therefore, only the one interpretation; viz., that this אֶת indicates the co-operation naturally flowing from fellowship. Gideon said, therefore, "Your flesh will I thresh in union with, and consequently in co-operation with, the thorns of the desert." Thus it appears that this אֶת introduces the *intermediary thing*. And, in fact, this אֶת was thus interpreted in Judges 8. 7b by the ancients. Compare the εἰ of the LXX., the עַל of the Targum, the אֵל of the Peshitto, and the "cum" of Jerome.

Nevertheless, Genesis 49. 25a, and Judges 8. 7b, were not, after all, such passages as one could bring to bear against the closing words of Döderlein's statement, quoted above. But after long searching I have found at least one passage such as Döderlein demands, where the word אֶת has the sense of "with," although it could there be regarded as a mark of the accusative. Job 26. 4a runs: אֶת־מִי הַנֶּדֶת מִלֵּין. Here אֶת can just as well be a sign of the accusative, or signify "with." In my judgment, moreover, it has here the former sense. For in v. 4a the one to whom such speeches are addressed is to be represented as incomprehensible, and in v. 4b the source of such utterances is to be described as undiscoverable. So the Targum rightly gives אֶת מִן, the LXX. τίς, the Peshitto, ܐܬܝܢ. But אֶת in this passage has been taken in the sense of "with" by Gesenius in the *Thesaurus linguæ Hebrææ*, p. 846b, and by Georg Hoffmann, *ad locum*.<sup>1</sup>

Another passage, where there is an abstract possibility of finding in אֶת the *nota accusativi*, but where beyond doubt it means "with," may be found in Esther 9. 29a. There it is said of Esther אֶת־כָּל־הַקֹּהֵן...וְהַכֹּהֵן, "and Esther wrote ...with all authority."

<sup>1</sup> *Hiob nach G. Hoffmann* (Kiel, 1891), p. 74, "Wer hat dir nur solche Rede eingegeben, wessen Hauch stieg aus dir empor?"

Through these instances that interpretation of Genesis 4. 1b which is maintained by Spurrell is shown to be linguistically correct.

If, however, the need is felt of material (*sachlich*) confirmation for the rendering, we require only to raise the question which Döderlein in his zeal has forgotten to raise, namely, *whether Eve or Mary gave birth to the Saviour*.

Furthermore, Luther wavered in his interpretation of Genesis 4. 1b. At first he chose for his translation the words: "Ich habe gekrieget den Mann des Herrn." He supported this translation also in the lectures upon Genesis, which he delivered in 1536-1545, which were published in eleven volumes.<sup>1</sup> This translation is obviously quite irreconcilable with the text. Undoubtedly Luther recognised this too. For subsequently, in the last revision of his translation, he preferred the words, "Ich habe gekrieget den Mann, den Herrn." That this cannot be the sense of the text has just been shown by linguistic and material (*sachlich*) arguments. This wavering evinced by Luther was not unknown in former centuries. Michael Walther, whose "*Officina biblica*" I have often referred to in my *Introduction to the Old Testament*, expressly drew attention to the change of opinion on the part of the Reformer (§ 45. 3).

Many later Lutherans have forgotten this point of history, and insist all the more on assigning to the text a sense which, according to proved linguistic facts, it does

<sup>1</sup> *Martini Lutheri exegetica opera Latina* (Curavit Elsperger, Erlangen, 1829), i. 307: "Ac dixit Heva, 'Acquisivi virum Domini.' Hinc potest causa colligi, cur Heva non vocarit Cain filium, quod scilicet præ nimio gaudio et reverentia noluerit appellare filium, sed cogitaverit de ipso maius aliquid, quasi Cain esset ille vir futurus, qui caput serpentis contriturus esset. Ideo non simpliciter virum sed Domini virum appellat, de quo Dominus Deus promiserat: 'semen tuum conteret caput serpentis.' Etsi autem hæc spes falsa fuit, tamen apparet Hevam fuisse sanctam mulierem et credidisse promissioni de futura salute per semen benedictum."

not *require* to have, a sense which, according to the progress of the Biblical history of salvation, it is impossible to give to it.

ED. KÖNIG.

### THE INCARNATION AND DOGMA.

"Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him, and he in God."—1 *John* iv. 15.

OUR subject is the Incarnation and Dogma. It has not a very attractive sound: one rather draws off from even the thought of thinking about Dogmatism and Dogma. But this very shrinking is proof that we, ourselves, are concerned in asking *why* there has grown up, almost within our own recollection, among people who are intelligent enough, this strong and rather scornful dislike of dogmatic truth. When you say that a man's habit of thought is dogmatic, why have you already condemned him with fashionable and modern thinkers?

After all, a dogma simply means a doctrine, announced as such, put to us as what we ought to believe. Dogmatic theology means positive truth in religion systematically stated; and the only sense in which a man may be too dogmatic is the sense in which he may be too positive. But assuredly there are things about which he cannot be too certain, nor speak too confidently; mischief only begins when one is positive in the wrong place, or in an unbecoming manner. And as one's over-readiness to lay down the law does not prove that there are no laws at all, nor even that I shall not be arrested if I break them, so too, and just in the same way, the over-readiness of some Christians to dogmatize neither proves that there is no dogma nor that I shall be safe in rejecting it.

If you think of it, the most dogmatic statement in the

world, going down to the roots of things, and penetrating all our concerns, is the Multiplication Table. There it stands, with neither an exception nor a "perhaps," nor a reason in the whole of it; nor does it confine itself to the little world we know; but announces flatly, without reserve or modesty or qualification, that throughout the universe twice two are four, and ten times ten a hundred. And you will do well to act accordingly, for whatever concerns you, from a dealing in the market to the calculating of a sidereal perturbation, you must accept these dogmas, or they will have their revenge upon you. The sincerity of your views will avail you nothing unless your views are sound. Well then, if we are to have any religion at all, why should we expect, and why should we wish, to find things otherwise here?

And yet there are reasons, which it will help us if we notice, that go far to explain this strange dislike to positive religious teaching. One is that modern fashionable thought is loose and inaccurate, and greatly resents being stopped before large and serious questions, and asked, Are these things certainly true or false? Do you positively say "Yes" to them or "No"? Much popular dislike to dogma is simply the unwillingness of people to make up their minds, especially when they must act on their decisions. Yes, but another reason, which it is only fair to confess, is that religious people too often dogmatize in wrong directions. For there are matters of profound religious interest upon which we can scarcely refrain from forming an opinion, and sometimes a strong one, yet an opinion is the most that we ought to form, because God has refrained from pronouncing positively. And yet we creatures of a day will not refrain from pronouncing positively: we must needs dogmatize on our own score. One such question is the future lot of the millions of heathenism; another is the nature and extent

of inspiration ; and elderly people can remember when any divergence from received views about them were denounced as dangerous and unsound.

Once more. There is a way of uttering priceless truth, such as the doctrine of the Atonement, which may well excite righteous indignation and repugnance. Just as it used to be said of the backwoods of America, that there a man would scarcely venture to do you a kindness without putting his revolver to your ear, so there have been theologians who could not teach the blessed gospel of the grace of God, without threatening damnation if you commit an error of judgment concerning the theory of redemption.

That is very pestilent nonsense.

The faith which saves a soul, and the unbelief which ruins it, are faith and unbelief in God, revealing Himself as our Saviour, making His greatest and most energetic appeal to our hearts in Jesus Christ. All else, however helpful, edifying and precious it may be (and much else is simply beyond price), all is helpful just as it helps us to this, to trust in the living God, made manifest in Jesus Christ.

And, therefore, in our text, St. John says that whosoever really confesses the dogma of the Incarnation—not of course with his lips only, but thoroughly, himself, the very man—whosoever shall thus confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God dwelleth in Him, and he in God. Everything is implicitly folded up in this ; and everything shall explicitly unfold itself out of this. It is a dogma. Yes, but this dogma is capable of propelling, like the pulses of the heart, life blood to the remotest extremities of our nature. Nor is it possible for two men to be really alike, of whom one has heartily embraced, while the other has rejected, this great gospel, this highly dogmatic gospel, that Eternal God has come in flesh to save us from our sins.

In a Christian country no reasonable man can evade the

absolute necessity of dogmatizing upon this great question. He must either say, *God has come in the flesh*, which is a dogma laden with consequences; or else, *No, that is a dream, God has not come in the flesh*, which assertion also is a dogma, not without consequences; or else he may say, but this is his last alternative, *Whether God has come in the flesh or not is a matter about which I am incapable of reaching a clear conviction*; and on this categorical assertion, this dogma, he stakes his soul.

From one or other of these alternatives there is no escape for a reasonable man, for surely it is unreasonable to say that possibly God has come in the flesh for my sake, and possibly I am capable of ascertaining the truth upon this subject, but I decline to take the trouble. As if one whom I have mortally offended and who can ruin me, had perhaps, perhaps, for my sake, entered the room where I lay sullen and despairing, and perhaps were holding out his hand in reconciliation, but I refuse to turn my head to see whether this were so or not. It is not only madness but guilty madness to say that perhaps God has come to us for our redemption, but we will not trouble ourselves to arrive at any certainty upon the subject.

Advancing one step further, we discover that our real choice lies not between the three dogmas above stated, but they really shrink up into two.

To say that man is incapable of ascertaining the truth about religion, that perhaps there is a God but I cannot discover Him, nor can He reveal Himself, that perhaps I am an immortal creature but I cannot feel sure of being more than a brute; to be an Agnostic, a hopelessly ignorant person, is surely not a proud position for a reasoning being to take up.

But the point at present is that as regards the Incarnation it is a quite impossible position. If we cannot in the nature of things be sure of anything about God and His

nature, then, oddly enough, we can be quite sure of this much, that He never has and never can become incarnate. If His nature and ours are such that neither can we reach up to Him, nor He down to us, then He never will take our nature in order to reveal Himself, for any such attempt must necessarily fail. And so the Agnostic, who is incapable of knowing anything, knows this, that even if God exists He cannot lay aside the clouds and darkness which envelop Him, nor approach His creatures, nor speak in the ear which He has framed. This the Agnostic knows and can affirm on the discredited *a priori* lines of argument. And yet he counts himself intellectually more modest than we, who think ourselves incapable of judging *a priori* what is possible to the Supreme Being, and therefore humbly examine the evidence which professes to attest a revelation. To us the Incarnation is God's answer to our bewildered and despairing cry, Can man by searching find out God? Can he find out the Almighty to perfection?

No, this great dogma replies, you never could find Him, and for that very reason He has found you. Because you never could have translated the language of the skies, therefore He has learned, at the knees of Mary, to speak our human tongue. He has taken manhood, that all men beholding our nature saturated with Divine qualities, should ask, Is this natural? Who is this? It bids us to discern the secret of a weakness that is stronger than man, and a foolishness (in the eyes of worldly wisdom) that is wiser than man; and a triumph rooted in overthrow, and a glory of anguish, and an empire of service, and such a new force leavening the race that old things have already passed away—for where is slavery? where is torture? what would you think if you found a group of crucified men outside the walls as you go home, and the clergy of the city shooting out their lips at one of them?—I say that already old things have passed away, and also already all things

have become new, so that neither sun nor earth, nor stars, nor life, nor death, mean what they used to mean, and the poorest sick creature in a hovel can have better medicine and nursing, and far warmer sympathy and sublimer consolations than Augustus Cæsar with the world grovelling at his feet.

Jesus Christ has been able to do this, and there are loving followers of His who know of so much nobler things which He has done, that they marvel at our lingering for a moment to think of these.

Say then, if He is not what we believe Him, who has been God enough to dream this dream? How came this conceit, this falsehood, which has renewed the world in righteousness, to fever with a restorative delirium the brains of Jews who had Annas and Caiaphas for the chiefs of their religion, and Gentiles who were burning incense to Nero as a god—an adorable god surely, in the act of murdering his mother or his teacher, or kicking his wife to death.

Did such a seed-plot find and fertilize the germ out of which Christianity overspread the world? and is not the spontaneous generation of such a religion, and its development by natural causes as the fittest to survive in such an environment, much harder to believe than our Dogma of the Incarnation of the Eternal Word?

A dogma, lastly, that has nothing of the repellant hardness which we began by observing in the thought of dogma. In it, religion itself, as well as our Master, takes flesh and blood; it grows warm and beautiful and kind; and we adore, not because lightnings are flashing from the skies, nor yet because our barns are empty and we needs must wring by importunity some respite from the hard fate which weighs upon us; but because from the topmost

heaven Love is gazing on us with human eyes, whispering with a human voice, Come unto Me, and I will give you rest; and when He breathes on us, as He did at the first upon His chosen, His human breath is the quickening Spirit of God the Eternal.

G. A. DERRY.

## THE ARTICLES OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.

### IV. "SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE."

Passus sub Pontio Pilato, cruci-	Suffered under Pontius Pilate,
fixus, mortuus et sepultus.	crucified, dead and buried.

*Rom.*: τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα. *Aqu.*: Crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus. *Afr.*: The same (only with "qui . . . est"). *Jerus.*: (only according to Cyril) σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα. *Antioch.*: Et crucifixus sub Pontio Pilato et sepultus.

The strangest portion of this Article, and one which has therefore become a proverb, "Pontius Pilate in the Creed," is also that which can be traced furthest back in exactly the same form, and which reappears in nearly all Creeds without alteration. It seems, therefore, highly probable that this ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου already belonged to the baptismal confession, which can be traced back to the early days of missions to the heathen (see pp. 40-44, Germ. ed.). It is also very remarkable that in the oldest account which we possess by a heathen author of the historical event of the Crucifixion of Christ, the name of the Roman official who allowed the sentence of death to be carried out is given with the same completeness—we might also say incompleteness—as it is given by Christians when they reproduce, or appear to reproduce, their Creed.<sup>1</sup> People are not in the habit of bringing forward Tacitus among the witnesses for the Creed. Probably he never heard of

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Annal.* xv. 44: "Auctor nominis ejus Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat."

such a thing. But it is evident that the little he says of Christ is neither drawn from the New Testament, nor from Josephus, who is silent about the Crucifixion of Christ. The only other sources from which he could draw—and who knows through how many intermediaries?—were the verbal communications of Christians. The Roman Christians about the year 100 were in the habit of referring to Pontius Pilate when they spoke to the heathen of the Crucified. It was not long before they began to appeal in opposition to emperors and statesmen, in all good faith, to supposed Acts and Reports of Pontius Pilate, which they imagined to be in the Roman archives.<sup>1</sup> Whilst mentioning these facts, I may as well say that it does not seem probable to me that the name of Pilate was first introduced into the Creed in opposition to a Docetic Christology.<sup>2</sup> It is true an Ignatius was quite ready to remind the Docetists of the historical fact ascribed to this name. That was certainly less, much less, unsuitable than the remark of many old Church commentators on the Creed, that the name of Pilate served to fix the date of the Crucifixion and of the whole evangelical history. The names of the Emperors Augustus and Tiberius, which are also to be found in the New Testament, would have been much more suitable, and the historic learning which must be presupposed if the name of Pilate was to serve this purpose could scarcely have been possessed by a single candidate for baptism in the second century. But the old commentators mostly unite with this absurd remark the very true thought that this secular name is an expression of the historic reality of the Gospel history.<sup>3</sup> There was a reason also for accentuating this when dealing with the heathen,

<sup>1</sup> So first Justin, *Apol.* i. 35, 40, 48.

<sup>2</sup> In this I am unable to follow my honoured colleague, W. Caspari, in his treatise *Sub Pontio Pilato* ("Hold that which thou hast," xv. 454 f.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Rufinus (c. 18: "Ne ex aliqua parte velut vaga et incerta gestorum traditio vacillaret"). W. Caspari adds more in another passage, p. 459.

who were inclined to regard as mythical that which was sacred history to the Christians. St. Luke has interwoven in both his books a number of little incidents, many of them of no intrinsic importance, by means of which this sacred history is connected with the historical events and circumstances of the same period. They prove nothing, but they strengthen the impression, which St. Luke (1. 4) intended to give, that here he was relating history which had come to pass in this world of daily realities, and which did not consist of pious thoughts in a mythical dress. Such an impression is produced by narratives which begin with words like these: "In the days of Herod, the King of Judæa," or "In the fifteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius," or "During Manteuffel's ministry," in contrast to narratives which begin, "Once upon a time in olden days there was a king." From this point of view the name of Pontius Pilate is comprehensible to me in the Creed, and is much to the point. The Creed was not intended to teach chronology, neither was it to provide a sufficient proof of the reality of the story of the Passion for every one versed in history. But it was to avow and attest the belief that the death of Jesus on the Cross was a veritable historical fact.

Further, it was an improvement on the older forms of the Creed to say, "Suffered under Pontius Pilate," and then first to add "crucified," which had been originally connected with this name. For Pilate was not the instigator of the Crucifixion. On the other hand, it was before this heathen judge that Jesus, as the innocent Defendant and faithful Witness to the truth, witnessed His "good confession."<sup>1</sup> It was at his bidding, or on his sufferance, that Jesus endured all the shame and mockery of the world before He was crucified. St. Paul reminds Timothy of the confession of Jesus before Pontius Pilate in order to bring

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 1 Tim. 6. 13; John 18. 33-38; Apoc. 1. 5 3. 14.

to his remembrance the inviolability of his own witness for Christ, which he delivered at his baptism. The external sufferings which he had borne were no true martyrdom without the faithful witness of his mouth. But, on the other hand, the reverse was not what the old Christians called a martyrdom, that is, a witness, unless it had been delivered under the painful pressure of the earthly power. The hearts of the faithful have clung, and still cling, firmly to the suffering of Christ before His Death, which is at the same time a most powerful witness. On the other hand, it is very essential for their faith that Jesus not only allowed the suffering and the shame of the Crucifixion to pass over Him, that He not only barely tasted the cup of death, but that He drank it to the very dregs, and that He really died.

The addition of "died" was also full of meaning, useful even for later centuries, in which men have dared to undermine the last consolation of dying Christians by the foolish invention of theories that the Death of Christ was apparent, that the Crucified was delivered before the last breath. But it was also well that the mention of the Burial of Jesus, which is contained in the oldest perfectly preserved form of the Creed, was permanently retained, for it secured the confession of the Resurrection of Jesus which followed, against misinterpretations which emptied it of all meaning, and which are as old as the preaching of the Resurrection of Jesus. St. Paul had already reckoned the Burial of Jesus as among the most elementary articles of Christian instruction, and thought it useful to bring it to remembrance in his great chapter on the resurrection from the dead. But by doing so he has not succeeded in hindering the learned theologians of the nineteenth century from asserting that St. Paul's faith in the Resurrection of Jesus has nothing to do with the grave of Joseph of Arimathæa, and with the body which was laid therein. But this one

little word of St. Paul and of the Apostles' Creed will also in the future remind every simple layman of the history of Jesus' Burial and of the witness of the other Apostles,<sup>1</sup> and it will enable him to cast aside this assertion as a senseless lie.

## V.

Descendit ad inferna.

Descended into hell.

In the Book of Concords, p. 29, also in the Latin text of the little Catechism, p. 357. On the other hand, in the great Catechism, p. 452, as also in the Roman Catechism, p. 405, and elsewhere, "descendit ad inferos." *Aqu.*: "descendit in inferna." This article is missing in all the other creeds with which the preceding articles have regularly been compared.<sup>2</sup>

These words are among the most obscure in the Creed with reference to their origin and their introduction in this place. At all events they were not indigenous in the Church province of Arles, where otherwise we can furthest trace back the essential elements of our Creed. They are missing in a great number of documents which contain the rest, or at all events many, of the special marks of our Creed, as, for example, "the Communion of Saints."<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, we find them in some baptismal creeds which have an absolutely ancient character and which bear little or no trace of the peculiarities of our Creed.<sup>4</sup> They

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. 15. 4, 11; Acts 2. 24-32.

<sup>2</sup> Rufinus states this expressly with reference to the Roman Creed and to the creeds of the Oriental Church. He does not seem to know of any exceptions among the latter. Cf. p. 50, n. 1. P. Caspari has proved, I think, in the *Norwegischen Abhandlungen*, pp. 106-277, that the *Descensus* was also missing in the Creed of Jerusalem in the time of Cyril.

<sup>3</sup> Thus, for example, in Faustus of Riez and in the *Missale Gallic. Vetus*; see above, p. 8, Germ. ed., in the Mozarabic Liturgy (Hahn, p. 36), and in Nicetas (Caspari, *Anecd.* p. 351).

<sup>4</sup> Thus, not only in the Creed of Aquileia after 370, the time of the baptism of Rufinus, but also in Venantius Fortunatus (Hahn, p. 28, etc.), who was born in the neighbourhood of Treviso, and probably became a Christian in Aquileia. Moreover, he follows Rufinus very closely in his explanation of the Creed. Probably also in the otherwise quite ancient Creed, which is expounded in two Latin homilies falsely ascribed to Augustine. Caspari, II. 233; not p. 228, on which cf. p. 241. Further, in the equally ancient Creed of the Spanish

emerge suddenly and quite evanescently in three Greek synodal decrees of the years 359 and 360.<sup>1</sup> But the oldest of these three confessions, the so-called fourth Sirmian formula, was originally drawn up in Latin, and was probably translated rather freely into Greek for the benefit of the members of the synod who were ignorant of Latin.

The formula was probably drawn up, as in other cases under similar circumstances, with reference to the Church use of the place where the synod was held. We may perhaps look upon Sirmium, on the Sau in the south-eastern corner of Pannonia, as well as Aquileia as one of the native places of this article of the Creed. But scarcely anything is known of the earlier history of these Churches and therefore of this addition to their creed. No great weight seems to have been attributed to it by the few who had long possessed it, or by those who adopted it later. The oldest commentator who notices it decides, though he expresses some uncertainty, that the thought was already contained in the word "buried."<sup>2</sup> Another says: "While the body of Christ rested in the grave, His soul, which was united to the Godhead, descended into the underworld."<sup>3</sup> Many others pass it by in silence. When it is examined more closely a few passages of the Bible, more or less applicable, are quoted.<sup>4</sup> The effect of the death of Christ and

Church of the 6th and 7th centuries (Caspari, II. 290, etc.; Hahn, p. 35, etc.; cf. p. 162), and also in the Sacramentary of Bobbio (Mabillon, *Mss. Ital.* I. 2. p. 312f.), which certainly originated in France, but not in the province of Arles, the Creed of which differs from ours only by the absence of *sanctorum communio*. The legendary form, also, in the appendix of this Sacramentary, p. 396, which otherwise has nothing in common with our Creed, gives *descendit ad inferna* as St. Philip's contribution.

<sup>1</sup> They are the fourth Sirmian formula of the 22nd of May, 359, the formula of Niké of the same year, and that of Constantinople of 360. (Hahn, p. 125, 126, 129. Cf. Hefele, *Conziliengeschichte*, I<sup>2</sup>, 699, 708, 733.)

<sup>2</sup> Rufinus, c. 18: "Vis tamen verbi eadem videtur esse in eo quod sepultus dicitur."

<sup>3</sup> Ps. Aug., *sermo* 240 (ed. Bass, xvi. 1299).

<sup>4</sup> Ps. Aug., *sermo* 241 (p. 1301), *sermo* 242 (p. 1304); also the commentator in the Sacramentary of Bobbio, I. 2. p. 313, although he reproduces the article.

of the dead Christ Himself on the world of the dead is a subject with which the poetic imagination of Christians has occupied itself at all events since the beginning of the second century. But the conjectures and imaginations which have linked themselves to it must be clearly distinguished from the fundamental thoughts which give rise to them and which are themselves directly derived from faith in the God-man and from the New Testament.<sup>1</sup>

1. If Jesus was truly Man, then His soul, after it had left the body, must have entered into the fellowship of departed spirits, or, since we can only speak of this condition in vague terms, into the place of the dead, the kingdom of the dead, or Hades. Jesus Himself and His disciples spoke of this as self-evident.<sup>2</sup>

2. If Jesus is He who lives for evermore and even His dying was an act, an act indeed accomplished in the power of an indissoluble life,<sup>3</sup> this tarrying in the realm of the dead cannot be thought of as a purely passive condition. If, as we cannot doubt, people yonder are conscious of their own existence and of that of others, there must have been some knowledge in the world of the dead that the Lord of the dead as of the living had appeared in their midst.

3. If Jesus is the Redeemer of mankind, the generations which had passed away before Christ came, and especially the members of the community which hoped in Him, must have been brought into personal relationship to Him, to His work, and to His kingdom. The Scriptures not only assure us of this,<sup>4</sup> but they also give ground for the belief that this would not first happen at the last day, but had already in some measure taken place at the death of Jesus.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thus by Rufinus, c. 28, and the supposed Chrysostom in Caspari, II. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Luke 23. 43; Matt. 12. 40; Eph. 4. 9; Rom. 10. 7; Acts 2. 27, 31.

<sup>3</sup> John 10. 18; Heb. 2. 14; 7. 16; Rom. 14. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 8. 11; 21. 31f.; Heb. 11. 40; Phil. 2. 10f.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. 27. 50-53; Heb. 12. 23 compared with 11. 40. As is well-known, different views are held as to the meaning of 1 Pet. 3. 19.

The Creed does not go so far as to give utterance to the second and third of these thoughts, and it is far from exalting the phantasies of pious curiosity into a creed. It contents itself with bearing witness to the fact, as it does with reference to the Death on the cross and the Resurrection. Otherwise Jesus would not have truly died nor have suffered the death of the men whom He would and should redeem. The faith of Christians will not give up this confession. Every teacher can easily overcome the difficulty which the German translation "hell" causes to the young and ignorant, who, misled by the present use of the word, think of the place of perdition. He has to do much the same in many passages when he reads the Bible with the young and ignorant.

THEOD. ZAHN.

### DID JOHN PREACH BAPTISM FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS?

THE burden of John the Baptist's preaching, as recorded in the Gospels of S. Mark and S. Luke, presents to us a problem almost as puzzling as the question regarding it which was put by our Lord to the chief priests, the scribes, and the elders: "Was it from heaven or of men?" (Mark xi. 30; Luke xx. 4); and although we do not fear the same dire consequences to ourselves should we make a mistake in its solution, the result of such a mistake may be even more disastrous to the interests of struggling humanity. The problem to which we refer is this: John preached "the baptism of repentance unto remission of sins," βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Is the phrase εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, "unto remission of sins," logically and grammatically dependent on the word βάπτισμα, "baptism," or on the word μετανοίας, "of repentance"?

The three hundred and eighteen Fathers who sat in the Council of Nice gave a decided answer to this question when they left out the word *μετανοίας*, "of repentance," altogether in their famous Creed—a Creed accepted up to the present day by almost all Christian Churches. '*Ὁμολογῶ ἐν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*,' "I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins," was their summary of New Testament teaching on the subject.

But were they justified in so doing? The English Authorized Version says "for the remission of sins," and the Revised Version, "unto remission of sins." They both preserve the ambiguity of the Greek in its full force; for in this passage they are both accurate as to grammatical form and as to sense. We cannot therefore be wrong in arguing from them.

It will be conceded that baptism and repentance are not precisely the same thing, because the one may very well exist without the other. Infants, being unconscious, and not having yet committed actual sin, do not repent on the occasion of their baptism, yet the rite is perfectly valid as the symbol of their admission to the Church of Christ. On the other hand, it is quite conceivable that a man may repent of some evil deed—nay, of the whole tenor of his life—without submitting to the rite of baptism. A case may even be imagined where he would be perfectly guiltless of neglecting our Lord's injunction by so doing, as there might be no one at hand who considered himself qualified to administer the rite.

Baptism and repentance then, being two perfectly distinct ideas, whose conjunction in the Gospel narrative is due to a relationship of expediency or affinity rather than to one of inherent necessity—which of them is efficacious, according to John's preaching, for the purpose of obtaining the remission of sins? One or other it must be; and we hold that the claim of the one excludes that of the other,

for it would be a most unusual grammatical construction to make the phrase "for the remission of sins" dependent on both of two words, each of which represents a perfectly distinct idea. If the governing word be "baptism," then it is not "repentance," and *vice versâ*.

Here grammar gives us no help. According to its rules, whether in Greek or in English, either "baptism" or "repentance" may have the remission of sins for its effect.

Now which did John, which did the two Evangelists who record the fact of his using the phrase, actually mean?

Grammar having failed us, we fall back on the axiom that a theoretical idea may be judged by its effects when put into practice, just as a tree is known by its fruits.

Has baptism been efficacious for the remission of sins? Here the statistics elude our grasp, the number of the baptized being almost equivalent to the number of the population of Christian countries during nineteen centuries, certainly to the population of Europe during the last millennium. Have the members of this vast multitude all enjoyed the remission of their sins? Some of them have died on the gallows, some of them have reached the lowest depths of debauchery, some have been thieves, swindlers, and assassins. Beautiful as the rite of baptism may be when regarded as a symbol of soul cleansing, it has had no appreciable effect whatever on their life and conversation.

It will be said, however, that the remission which is supposed to be effected by its means applies only to sins, or to sinful dispositions, that are past, and has no reference whatever to those that are to be in the future. But does not this idea so limit the scope of God's forgiveness as to make it almost practically worthless? It was surely to achieve a much higher result that He gave His Son as a sacrifice. With Him forgiveness, made possible at so great a cost, must mean deliverance from the power

or dominion of sin as well as from its guilt. It must be accompanied by a resolve on the part of the recipient to forsake sin; in other words, by repentance.

Is not this idea of forsaking implied in the word *ἄφεσις*? It means, we know, "acquittal," from the word *ἀφίημι*, "to acquit" (a slave, for instance). But Liddell and Scott tell us that *ἀφίημι* is used also in the sense of "to forsake" (*γυναῖκα*, "a wife," *ὀργήν*, "wrath"). Is it quite impossible to read, "The baptism of repentance for the forsaking of sins"? We have a strong suspicion that this kind of *ἄφεσις* was not altogether absent from the Baptist's mind as he preached, and it might be interpreted as the *μετάνοια εἰς σωτηρίαν ἀμεταμέλητον* which S. Paul speaks of in 2 Corinthians vii. 10. We may even presume to say that the *ἄφεσις* in the sense of "forsaking" is the only sure proof that we have received the *ἄφεσις* in the sense of "acquittal."

If we turn for some light on the meaning of the word *ἄφεσις* to the early versions of the Gospels, we find that both the Old Latin and the Vulgate give us simply *remission* or *remision*. But the Syriac versions have all *shubqan* or *shubqana*, which, though continually employed in the sense of remission, is yet a regularly formed noun from the verb *shbaq*, whose common meaning is "to forsake," and which had certainly no other when it was used by our Lord on the cross.

Is repentance efficacious for the remission of sins? Repentance has been called a "saving grace"; and though the New Testament teaches that it is not the actual ground of a sinner's acceptance with God, it is, when sincere, an indispensable accompaniment of that acceptance. The Almighty Himself cannot pardon without it. This is in the nature of things, for repentance simply means "a turning from something to something," in this case from sin unto God. It was lately described by a drill-sergeant

as "Right about face," and is still more happily rendered by our common expression, "Turn over a new leaf."

Seeing then that there cannot be remission of sins without repentance, and that true repentance never occurs without the remission of sins (Luke xiii. 3; Acts iii. 19; it was repentance for which Esau found no place), is it not natural to conclude that in Mark i. 4 and in Luke iii. 3 the phrase "for the remission of sins" is logically and grammatically dependent on the word "repentance" and not on the word "baptism," and that, consequently, we must regard the confession in the Nicene Creed, "I acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins," so far as it is based on New Testament teaching, to be either mutilated or incomplete? It would be interesting to know what considerations induced the imperial and reverend compilers of that confession to omit all mention of repentance.

AGNES SMITH LEWIS.

### SURVEY OF LITERATURE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

INTRODUCTION.—To the series of "Old Latin Biblical Texts" issued from the Clarendon Press the Rev. Henry J. White adds No. IV. It contains *Portions of the Acts of the Apostles, of the Epistle of St. James, and of the First Epistle of St. Peter, from the Bubbio Palimpsest(s), now numbered Cod. 16 in the Imperial Library at Vienna*. This Palimpsest has previously been edited by Tischendorf and Belsheim, to both of whom, and especially to the former, Mr. White makes abundant acknowledgment of his indebtedness. His examination of the MS. confirms the impression of Tischendorf's remarkable skill in deciphering what to almost every other eye is illegible. Mr. White himself must be congratulated on the success with which he has carried the deciphering of the MS. somewhat further. The facsimile given of its *easiest* page enables one in some degree to estimate the difficulty of his task. One can

well understand that some parts have had to be surrendered as utterly illegible, while here and there a passage occurs of which it can only be said, "Vix aut ne vix quidem legi potest." But considerable portions are here printed, and these are, perhaps, chiefly important in so far as they help us to discover the relation between the Old Latin Texts and the Vulgate. Mr. White has earned the gratitude of all scholars by this and other labours in the same field; and grateful acknowledgment is also due to the Clarendon Press for the sumptuous and perfect style in which they produce these Texts.

*A Guide to Biblical Study*, by A. S. Peake, M.A., Fellow of Merton College, Oxford (Hodder and Stoughton), will be found a thoroughly practical, and at the same time stimulating introduction to the study both of the Old and New Testaments. It is intended to present a view of the questions which at present chiefly occupy Biblical scholars, the literature connected with them, and the method to be adopted in their solution. Mr. Peake has earned a right to offer his guidance to younger scholars, and the wisdom and knowledge exhibited in this volume are self-authenticating. The digest of Paulinism is singularly lucid, concatenated, and masterly: a better it would be impossible to point to, anywhere. The bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive, but is adapted to the actual wants of the student. We should like to think that this book would come into use in all colleges and theological training schools.

Although rather at one point overlapping the region of New Testament Introduction than entirely belonging to it, Dr. Gustav Krüger's *History of Early Christian Literature in the First Three Centuries* may here be mentioned. It has been translated by the Rev. Charles R. Gillett, A.M., Librarian of Union Theological Seminary, New York, and is published by the Macmillan Company. It is a handbook that was urgently required. So many discoveries in early literature have recently been made, and so many monographs, articles, and treatises have been written upon them, that all the guides of thirty or twenty years ago are now out of date. That Dr. Krüger has furnished a handbook that is excellently adapted to the needs of the student no one who uses it will doubt. Of necessity there will be difference of opinion regarding some of his conclusions, for where demonstration is impossible one scholar will find more and another less of prob-

ability. Dr. Krüger's account of the Catholic Epistles many will accordingly judge to be erroneous. But it is for facts rather than for opinions we consult such a book, and the enormous collection of sifted facts with which the student is here furnished will often save him a world of trouble. It is a most welcome addition to our books of reference.

Dr. Krüger says that "it is generally admitted that only the contents of the shorter recensions" of the Ignatian Epistles are accepted as authentic. But M. Edouard Bruston reduces still further the shorter recension. In his *Ignace d'Antioche, ses épîtres, sa vie, sa théologie* (Fischbacher, Paris), he ably argues against the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistle to the Romans. The reasons he gives for refusing to accept Bishop Lightfoot's conclusions regarding that Epistle are convincing, and his interpretation of Origen's allusion, on which so much depends, is certainly both ingenious and worthy of serious consideration. Evidently the Ignatian question cannot be considered closed, and M. Bruston has made a notable and vivacious contribution to it. The volume is not large, and contains much that is interesting.

Professor Gwatkin publishes (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.) a second and somewhat enlarged edition of his *Selections from Early Writers Illustrative of Church History to the Time of Constantine*. It is superfluous to recommend what comes from the hands of such an authority as Professor Gwatkin; and it need only be said that as an introduction to the use of the sources of Church history, or as a handy book of reference to the passages one is always needing to use, nothing could be better than this volume. In this edition nine additional passages are given, enlarging the volume by twenty pages.

The *Logia Iesou*, or *Sayings of our Lord*, discovered and edited by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, and published for the Egypt Exploration Fund by Mr. Henry Frowde, have been so thoroughly advertised and canvassed by the interest they have excited, that perhaps it may serve a better purpose to intimate that the subscription of one guinea per annum obtains the annual volume of the Exploration, consisting of about 300 pages, with facsimile plates of the more important papyri which have been unearthed.

From Attinger Frères, of Neuchatel, we have received the *première livraison* of the first part of Professor Godet's *Introduction au Nouveau Testament*, which contains part of his treatment

of the Gospels. So far, however, as this present *livraison* reaches, it is only the relation of the Gospels to the canon, or their formation into a collection, which he handles. He comes, however, to the important and somewhat novel conclusion that the four Gospels were grouped into one collection as early as the closing years of the first century. Still more surprising is the quotation from Bousset with which he closes this part of his work, and in which that scholar suggests that the collection of the four Gospels coincides with the publication of the fourth. The evidence which Professor Godet adduces for his position is abundant, and skillfully handled.

Attention may be drawn to the beautiful and convenient Eversley edition of *The Holy Bible*, which is being issued in eight volumes by Messrs. Macmillan under the editorial care of Mr. Mackail, whose name is a guarantee of good taste. The divisions into chapters and verses are omitted, and the same arrangement is adopted as is usual in ordinary books. The Authorised Version is followed for reasons assigned by the editor in his extremely pithy and wise introduction. There should be a large demand for the Bible in this most attractive form.

Professor Richard G. Moulton, of Chicago, continues his issue of small volumes on Scripture (The Macmillan Company). His latest is *Select Masterpieces of Biblical Literature*, in which he has arranged the most striking stories, lyrics, orations, sonnets of the Old Testament. It forms an instructive, handy, and tasteful volume.

To inaugurate their "Popular Biblical Library" Messrs. Service & Paton have issued *The Herods* by Dean Farrar. The subject is one which lends itself to the author's scholarship and eloquence; consequently a very readable book is produced.

EXEGESIS.—During the past few months some notable additions have been made to exegetical literature. New editions have been issued of Professor Mayor's commentary on *The Epistle of St. James* (Macmillan & Co.), and of Principal Edwards on *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Hodder and Stoughton). Professor Mayor, by adding fifty pages on the theories of Harnack and Spitta, has added to the value of a work which on its first appearance was universally accepted as the most complete and satisfactory commentary on the Epistle. Principal Edwards has reprinted his volume precisely as it stood; and it is difficult to

see how it could be improved. It is as nearly perfect as anything of the kind can be.

Dr. Nicoll has issued the first volume of *The Expositor's Greek Testament*. Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton have spared no pains to make the book handy and pleasant to the eye. It is "intended to do for the present generation the work accomplished by Dean Alford's in the past." Dr. Nicoll hopes that, by distributing the work among various hands, he may be able to obtain results as satisfactory as those which Dean Alford obtained single-handed. This first volume contains the Synoptic Gospels treated by Professor A. B. Bruce, and the Fourth Gospel by Professor Marcus Dods. The whole New Testament is likely to be completed within five years.

To the International Critical Commentary (T. & T. Clark) a notable addition has been made in Dr. T. K. Abbott's volume on *The Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians*. Dr. Abbott has wisely given to his commentary a "primarily philological" character—wisely, because these Epistles present so many theological problems that to give elaborate discussions of all of them would have unduly swollen his book, and because one who has shown himself an expert in linguistic studies has probably more to teach us in that department than in any other. Besides, what one seeks in a commentary is not the opinion of the individual writer, but ascertained fact. As a philological commentary Dr. Abbott's volume appreciably advances our knowledge of these two important Epistles.

To the same series Professor Marvin Vincent, of Union Theological Seminary, New York, contributes a commentary *On the Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon*.

For a thoroughly adequate commentary on *The Acts of the Apostles* the world still waits; and since Blass has shed so much dry light on the language, and others have done so much for the archæology and the text, it may be hoped that the time of waiting is nearly by. Meanwhile the Rev. Frederic Rendall, to whom New Testament scholars already owe so much, furnishes us (through Messrs. Macmillan & Co.) with a commentary which at any rate lights up many passages of the book, and materially contributes towards the final word. It is curiously, and for some purposes not conveniently, arranged, printing first the Greek text with suitable notes, and occupying the second half of the volume with an Eng-

lish translation and notes appropriate. The text printed is based upon Westcott and Hort's, but Mr. Rendall does not scruple to make such alterations as he thinks justifiable. The translation is Mr. Rendall's, and is excellent. The notes are brief, and prove the truth of the writer's statement: "I have taken pains to verify and digest the large store of information for which I am indebted to many predecessors. I have also made an independent and thorough scrutiny for myself of the author's language, and endeavoured to illustrate it by the aid of other Scriptures, and any ancient authorities within my reach." The labour which Mr. Rendall has spent upon the book will not be lost; it is sure to find its way into the hands of those who know how to appreciate it.

NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.—A remarkable addition to this department of study has been made by the Rev. David Somerville, of Roseburn Free Church, Edinburgh. Appointed as Cunningham Lecturer, he chose for his theme the difficult subject, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ, or the Doctrine of the Second Adam*. His lectures are now published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark. They necessarily bring him into one of the stormy regions or debatable lands of modern theology. Through the obscurities, perplexities, and pitfalls of this territory Mr. Somerville makes his way with the equanimity, skill, and lucidity which bespeak perfect familiarity with the literature of this subject, and much careful and wise thinking. The keynote of the volume may be found in his words: "Giving up the attempt to construct an intellectual conception of the Person of Christ that will satisfy speculation, we must learn to content ourselves with the understanding of His religious significance, and the knowledge of His nature that is gathered from the life of faith." This may smack too much of Ritschlianism to satisfy the dogmatic theologian, but it has the advantage of bringing us to the study of St. Paul at a new angle, and serves to disclose what otherwise might be overlooked. It is seldom one meets with a treatise which displays such aptitude for theology, and certainly no one who attempts to find his way through the mazes of Pauline thought can afford to dispense with Mr. Somerville's guidance.

Another solid contribution to New Testament Theology is made by Professor Beet, in *The Last Things* (Hodder and Stoughton). Readers of this magazine do not need to be reminded of those

articles in which from time to time Professor Beet has shown his interest in eschatology and his ability to handle it. In the present volume we have a full Biblical treatment of Retribution, the present state of the departed, the second coming of Christ, the future punishment of sin, and eternal glory. The teaching of Scripture on each of these subjects is examined in detail, but without tediousness; and much fresh light is thrown on individual passages. The various theories which have been advanced in connexion with the future state are constantly kept in view, although, happily, in the background. The chief result obtained by Professor Beet is, that although Scripture holds out no prospect of the termination of punishment, it yet does not require us to believe that *suffering* will be eternal. "Since not all punishment is suffering, we have no right to infer that in this case suffering and punishment are coextensive." Of the "acute suffering of the lost, the writers of the New Testament see no end; nor do they teach anything which logically implies, or even suggests, that it will ever end. On the other hand they do not go so far as expressly and indisputably to assert the endless permanence of these ruined and wretched ones, and the consequent endlessness of their torment." This conclusion involves that Professor Beet does not believe in the natural immortality of the soul, and that he does not give the fulness of meaning which some others have given to the word *αἰώνιος*. His positions and his arguments will certainly be controverted, and in some instances it is probable that they can be shown to be erroneous; but he has produced a book which must be reckoned with as in certain directions distinctly advancing the discussion of this great question, and as a full, careful, and valuable examination of the relevant teaching of Scripture. All who seek for light on this theme, that concerns every individual, would do well to consult this suggestive volume.

The instructed public will welcome a new edition of Dr. Robertson Nicoll's *The Incarnate Saviour* (T. & T. Clark). On its first appearance it won warm commendation from such judges as Canon Liddon and Professor Sanday. The present edition contains a preface, in which Dr. Nicoll aims at proving that "the exaltation of the Christianity of the Gospels above that of the Epistles is ultimately fatal to Christianity in every form." The value of the book consists in its very suggestive

treatment of the salient features or main factors in the life of our Lord. In this respect it stands almost, if not altogether, alone in our language.

Another volume from the same hand and publishers is *The Return to the Cross*, a series of very striking papers on various aspects of religion and theology in our own day. They are remarkable alike for their fulness of knowledge, their vigour of thought, and the excellence of their style.

Messrs. Bliss, Sands & Co., have done a service to the religious public in issuing a new edition of the *Treatise on Sanctification*, by Fraser of Alness. This edition is garnished with a biographical and critical introduction by the Rev. John Macpherson, M.A. The book is really one of the best commentaries we have on the sixth, seventh, and eighth chapters of *Romans*, and has long and justly been held in the highest esteem. This is a desirable edition of a religious classic.

From Messrs. Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, of Göttingen, we have received the first part of Paul Clemen's *Die christliche Lehre von der Sünde*, containing *Die biblische Lehre*. Carl Clemen's name is a guarantee for thorough and interesting work, and the present publication bears marks of wide reading and sound exegesis. If space can be found, we shall return to a book that merits fuller consideration than can now be given to it.

SERMONS.—Among sermons, the first place must be given to Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton's *Anglican Pulpit Library*, the present volume of which covers the Sundays from the tenth after Trinity to Advent. The Sermons are, as usual, derived from the best sources: Canons Scott Holland, and Gore, the late Bishop Fraser, Liddon, Phillips Brooks, Dean Farrar, and many others. This volume completes a most handsome and desirable series.

A volume of *University and Other Sermons* by the late Dean Vaughan, the majority of which have previously appeared, is issued by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. Their editor considers these sermons "models, for all time, of what preaching can be made in attractiveness and power." Certainly their sense, dignity, and lucidity are worthy of imitation, if that is possible. The value of the volume is enhanced by an excellent photograph of the Dean.

The Rev. John Morgan, of Viewforth Free Church, Edinburgh, gives us, under the title of *The Ministry of the Holy Ghost* (Hodder and Stoughton) twenty specimens of his pulpit work. The ser-

mons are instructive, earnest, evangelical, easily understood, and brightened with a large amount of illustration and anecdote.

From Messrs. Rivingtons we receive *The Power of an Endless Life and Other Sermons* by David Wright, M.A., late Vicar of Stoke Bishop, Bristol. They are published at the request of many who heard them, and are introduced by Canon Ainger, who guarantees them as possessing the higher qualities of preaching, genuine piety and earnestness, originality of thought and intellectual acuteness. He considers that Mr. Wright possessed an "almost ideal pulpit style." The volume contains both original and beautiful thoughts. Mr. F. St. John Thackeray, who is well known in other walks of literature, publishes, with Messrs. George Bell & Sons, a volume of *Sermons Preached in Eton College Chapel 1870-1897*.

One of the wisest and most generally useful volumes which Bishop Westcott has published is his last. It contains a number of sermons and addresses under the general title *Christian Aspects of Life* (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.). The application of Christian truth to the various facts of modern life has never been more wisely exhibited.

Few men have spoken so much, and said so little that was not worth saying, as Dr. Alexander Maclaren, and for those who cannot enjoy all his volumes Mr. Coates has made an excellent selection of fifty-two sermons. He entitles his volume *Creed and Conduct* (Charles H. Kelly), and embellishes it with an excellent photograph of the author.

*Side-lights from Patmos* (Hodder and Stoughton) is, its author, Dr. George Matheson, tells us, not a volume of sermons but of studies, or "flashes of modern suggestion from the ancient Apocalypse." Several of them have appeared in this magazine, and, like the other productions of this prolific and eloquent pen, they are imaginative, moving, and illuminating.

MISCELLANEOUS.—A brilliantly written contribution has been made by Professor Auguste Sabatier to the literature of religion and philosophy in his *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion based on Psychology and History*. It is translated by the Rev. T. A. Seed, and published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton. Of course the author of such a volume must cover ground which has again and again been surveyed, but in following Sabatier one has always a sense of novelty. Old things are seen from a new point of view and make fresh impressions. Besides, in the chapters dealing

with revelation there is a distinct advance made in clearness, both of conception and statement. The theological position of Sabatier, as is well known, is somewhat further removed from the traditional than is that of our leading theologians.

The position of M. Paul Chapuis, however, as disclosed in his treatise *Du Surnaturel* (Lausanne, Payot) is still more extreme. His position may be given in his words (p. 197), "Even if miracle ever occurred, which we deny, it could have no religious value." In fact, this able and interesting treatise is an attempt to show the unreasonableness and inevitable decay of a belief in the miraculous. In the former part of the discussion there is much clever criticism of the various views and defences of the miraculous. But when M. Chapuis is confronted with the miracles of the Gospels, he is as helpless as his predecessors. Of the resurrection he makes no mention; of the peculiar character of the miracles of our Lord as being on the plane of nature and not grotesque monstrosities he takes no account; of Paul's belief in his own miraculous powers he says not a word. All he has to say of the miracles of Christ is, that several were natural results, and those that cannot thus be accounted for never happened, but are erroneously ascribed to our Lord by the Evangelist. This is rather a disappointing result of a criticism conducted by a man of singular acuteness, and who has all the literature at his finger-ends. In fact, every other part of the book is better thought out than that to which all leads up—the miraculous in the life of Christ, and a bridge which is intended to convey us from our traditional superstitions to the land of philosophic light, but which lacks the keystone, does not invite confidence.

Of a different order is Dr. A. B. Bruce's Gifford Lectures on *The Providential Order of the World* (Hodder and Stoughton). The lecturer has been happy in discovering a theme which is at once within the limits of Lord Gifford's instructions, and untouched by previous lecturers. He seeks to find God through man, his destiny and history. In fulfilment of this purpose he considers man's place in the universe, and the theistic inferences from it; man's worth, the evolution of civilization in the widest sense, and other cognate subjects. Thus Dr. Bruce is confronted with much controverted matter which he handles with his accustomed vigour and candour. The volume is interesting not only because it touches upon much that lies at the heart of humanity, but because

of the vitality which the writer imparts to all that he produces. It is a book to read, and whoso reads it once will return to it many a time.

Many a student would say to himself: "That is a book I must read," when he saw Messrs. Macmillan & Co.'s advertisement of Archdeacon Cheetham's *The Mysteries Pagan and Christian*, being the Hulsean Lectures for 1896-97. We have long been in want of such a volume. Anrich's book is indeed fuller, but as yet it remains untranslated, so that Dr. Cheetham's is most welcome. It is the right size, and it is not marred by any prepossessions or fantastic ideas. He considerably modifies Hatch's opinion, and holds that the Christians took nothing consciously from the pagan mysteries. That certain doctrines at which the heathen were likely to scoff were withheld from the uninitiated he thinks probable enough; but the analogies which have been found between baptism and the eucharist and the pagan mysteries he shows to be misapprehensions.

*The Tendencies of Modern Theology*, by the Rev. J. S. Banks, of Headingley College (Charles H. Kelly), contains able criticisms of several characteristic publications in theological literature. Professor Banks here and there lays himself open to criticism; but in the main this book is a healthy, vigorous, and timely protest against some recent extravagancies.

The Rev. N. Dimock has issued another of his learned and able tractates. This treats of *The Christian Doctrine of Sacerdotium* (Elliot Stock), and would be valuable were it for nothing else than the catena of passages bearing on the subject. The same publishers issue *Lessons from Life*. It is a compendium of moral lessons illustrated by curious and interesting habits, instincts, peculiarities, and ministries of living creatures. It will be found both good reading and a helpful aid to all teachers in Sunday Schools.

Canon Knox Little has published (Isbister & Co., Limited), under the title *St. Francis of Assisi, His Times, Life, and Work*, some lectures which he delivered during Lent, 1896, in Worcester Cathedral. These lectures he has revised and enlarged, so that now they form a handsome octavo. Public attention cannot be too often recalled to the consideration of such reproductions of the mind of Christ as we find in St. Francis; and although the life by Sabatier might have been supposed to occupy the ground

for a time, and to deter any other author from a similar enterprise, it cannot be regretted that Canon Little has risked competition with that excellent book. From what point of view he has surveyed the times and the work of St. Francis no one need be told. The book is written in an excellent spirit, full of sympathy with the aims of the saint, and with admiration for his character. The errors of Romanism are, when necessary, exposed, but never with bitterness; indeed in explaining the origin and abuse of indulgences, probably a stronger tincture of severity would have been in the interests of truth. Any bitterness Canon Little possesses is exhausted in his description of Calvinism; and no one can be surprised at that; although, if he had read and weighed Calvin's views on the sacraments, he might possibly have forgiven him some other of his opinions. His estimate of the character of St. Francis is just, and his remarks on the vows of poverty and chastity are sound and instructive. Indeed his treatment of these features of the movement is the most original part of the book. Of *some* of the miracles recorded as performed by St. Francis he says that "we may well be inclined to accept them as carrying with them a high probability." The stigmata he accepts as miraculous, although why he does not consider them as the result of hysteria, he does not say. His approval of St. Francis' kissing the hands of a scandalous priest is the very infatuation of high-churchism, and will be construed as meaning that Orders are more than character, that the priest absorbs the man, and that what is damnable in a layman is not to be condemned and detested in an official. As a whole the book is written in a lively and interesting style, and presents an impressive picture of one of the greatest and best of men.

We have received from the Bible Christian Book-room *Lectures on the Spiritual Basis of Nonconformity* by Edward Carey Pike, B.A., which contain a large amount of information, and read well; from the Baptist Tract and Book Society, *Heaven*: an enquiry into what Holy Scripture reveals and suggests of the glories of the Father's House, by J. Hunt Cooke; also *When the Trees Bud*, by Ernest Judson Page, a somewhat dry allegory. *Vegetarian Essays*, by A. F. Hills (the Ideal Publishing Co.), who strives to show that it is a religious duty to abstain from meat and stimulants. *The Nonconformist Minister's Ordinal* (H. R. Allen-son), which gives somewhat bare services, especially inadequate

for Baptism. *London Riverside Churches*, by A. E. Daniell, with 84 illustrations by Alexander Ansted (Arch. Constable & Co.). *The Anti-Christian Crusade*, by Robert P. C. Corfe (Eyre and Spottiswoode). *The Christ of the Higher Critics*, by the Rev. William Spiers (Charles H. Kelly). *The Teaching Function of the Modern Pulpit*, an excellent treatment of the subject, by James Lindsay, M.A., B.D., etc. (William Blackwood & Sons). From Mr. Elliot Stock we have *A Test of the Truth*, by Oxoniensis. The test is declared in these words: "What imports the criticism of Scripture, the demonstrations of science, the arguments of materialism, if the very living Christ is there, manifest within the human spirit in such mysterious, unquestionable reality that if all the universe seemed crumbling into dust, the certainty of His existence would remain the Central Fact—the Eternal Truth that never more could be doubted or overborne?" This should be read. Another volume from the pen of Sir J. William Dawson has been published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton under the title *Relics of Primeval Life*. It contains the Lowell Lectures for 1895, and gives in fullest form the author's views regarding the dawn of life on this planet. It is chiefly for geologists and experts, but may be read with advantage by others. His conclusion is "that scientific investigation can never bring us within reach of the absolute origin of life, otherwise than by the action of a creative will." In a small volume published by Mr. D. Nutt the Rev. James Middleton Macdonald, Houghton Syriac Prizeman, Oxford, reproduces in *facsimile*, edits, translates, and compares with the Levitical Code the *Massilia-Carthago Sacrifice Tablets of the Worship of Baal*. In this little treatise there is much that will interest and enlighten students of the Old Testament and of Religion. A second and cheap edition of the Rev. Henry Veale's *Devotions of Bishop Andrewes* has been issued by Mr. Elliot Stock. The only alteration is a more complete list of errata. Mr. George Redway sends us *The Perfect Law of Liberty*, by Vindex, a plea for freedom of thought in the service of faith. Mr. Findlay, Principal of the College of Preceptors Training College, publishes through the Cambridge University Press a very complete account of *Arnold of Rugby* as an educationist. It contains everything that bears upon the methods and influence of Dr. Arnold as a teacher.

From America we have some valuable books: *The Conception of*

*God*, a philosophical discussion concerning the nature of the Divine idea as a demonstrable reality, by Josiah Royce, Professor in Harvard, Joseph Le Conte and G. H. Howison, Professors in the University of California, and Professor Mezes, of Texas (The Macmillan Company). This is really the first, though not the first published, of the projected publications of the Philosophical Union of California. Another of the "Ten Epochs of Church History" has also been issued by the Christian Literature Company, *The Anglican Reformation*, by William Clark, M.A. (Oxon.), D.C.L., etc. From the same publishing house comes *A History of American Christianity*, by Leonard Woolsey Bacon; full and interesting.

From the Librairie Fischbacher comes *Qu'est ce qu'une Église?* par C. G. Chavannes. He answers his question thus: "C'est, dans un lieu donné, l'association, en qualité de chrétiens et par distinction d'avec les non-chrétiens, de ceux qui se professent chrétiens." And what makes the Christian is "l'adoration de Dieu" of a certain character.

Professor Bovon goes steadily on with his great work on Redemption, and has now reached the *Morale Chrétienne*, of which the first volume is published by Georges Bridel, Lausanne. Professor Gretillat, of Neuchatel, has reached the same stage with his comprehensive work on Systematic Theology, and also publishes (Attinger Frères) the first volume of a *Morale Chrétienne*.

MARCUS DODS.

## THE CHURCH AS THE FULFILMENT OF THE CHRIST:

### A NOTE ON EPHESIANS I. 23.

At the close of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians S. Paul describes the Church, which he has just declared to be Christ's Body, by a very noteworthy phrase: τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν πληρουμένου. The purpose of this paper is: (1) To investigate the meaning of πλήρωμα in general; and (2) To apply the result of the investigation to the theological interpretation of S. Paul's description of the Church.

I. The precise meaning of the word πλήρωμα has been a matter of much controversy among Biblical critics. It was discussed at great length by C. F. A. Fritzsche in his Commentary on *Romans* (1839), vol. ii. pp. 469 ff., and to him subsequent writers are in the main indebted for their illustrations from Greek literature. Fritzsche's long note was drawn from him by the statement of Storr and writers who followed him, that πλήρωμα always has an *active* sense in the New Testament. He, on the contrary, starts with the assertion that substantives in -μα have a *passive* sense. He admits a few cases in which πλήρωμα has an *active* sense: such as Eurip. *Troad.* 823:

Λαομεδόντιε παῖ,  
Ζηνὸς ἔχεις κυλίκων  
πλήρωμα, καλλίσταν λατρείαν

and Philo *de Abr.* (Mangey, II. 39), where "faith towards God is called παρηγόρημα βίου, πλήρωμα χρηστῶν

ἐλπίδων. But he insists that in such cases πλήρωμα means "the filling" or "fulfilling," and not "that which fills" (*complendi actionem, non id quod complet*). He then proceeds to show that the fundamental sense of πλήρωμα is a *passive* sense.

But we must note carefully what he means when he thus speaks of a "*passive* sense." In ordinary parlance we understand by the *passive* sense of πλήρωμα, "that which is filled" (*id quod completum est*); but of this Fritzsche has only one plausible example to offer, viz. πληρώματα, as used in naval warfare as an equivalent of "ships" (to this we shall return presently). He himself, however, uses the expression "*passive* sense" to cover instances in which πλήρωμα means "that with which a thing is filled" (*id quo res completur s. completa est*). This extension of phraseology enables him, with a little straining, to find an underlying *passive* signification in all instances of the use of πλήρωμα, apart from those which he has already noted as exceptions.

Lightfoot, in his Commentary on *Colossians* (pp. 257-273), discusses the word πλήρωμα afresh, and deals (1) with its fundamental signification; (2) with its use in the New Testament; (3) with its employment as a technical term by heretical sects.

At the outset he recognises the confusion which Fritzsche produced by his unjustifiable use of the expression "*passive* sense." Thus he says: "He apparently considers that he has surmounted the difficulties involved in Storr's view, for he speaks of this last [*id quo res impletur*'] as a *passive* sense, though in fact it is nothing more than '*id quod implet*' expressed in different words."

Lightfoot, accordingly, starting with the same postulate of the *passive* signification of all verbal substantives in -μα, undertakes to find a genuine *passive* sense under-

lying those instances in which Fritzsche had interpreted πλήρωμα as "id quo res impletur."

"Substantives in -μα," he says, "formed from the perfect passive, appears always to have a passive sense. They may denote an abstract notion or a concrete thing; they may signify the action itself regarded as complete, or the product of the action; but in any case they give the *result* of the agency involved in the corresponding verb."

Lightfoot appears to me to have correctly diagnosed the formations in -μα, when he says, "they give the *result* of the agency involved in the corresponding verb." It is, however, unfortunate that, in his desire to be loyal to what he speaks of as a "lexical rule," he insists that "in all cases the word is strictly passive." For the maintenance of this position involves again an extension of the term "passive," not indeed so violent as Fritzsche's, but yet unfamiliar and easily leading to misconceptions. Thus, to take one instance, we may allow that κώλυμα is in the first place the *result* of "hindering," i.e. "hindrance." But when the "hindrance" is thought of not merely as an abstract idea, but as a concrete thing, it has come to mean "that which hinders"; that is to say, it has acquired in usage what we should naturally call an *active* signification. And yet Lightfoot's theory demands that κώλυμα, the *result* of the agency of the verb κωλύω, shall be "strictly passive."

The straits to which Lightfoot is put by this theory may be illustrated from his interpretation of the word πλήρωμα in Mark ii. 21, the saying about the new patch on the old garment. The true text of S. Mark at this point is somewhat rough, but not really obscure: No man seweth a piece of new (or undressed) cloth on an old garment; εἰ δὲ μήγε, αἶρει τὸ πλήρωμα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τὸ καινὸν τοῦ παλαιοῦ. Our old translators rendered πλή-

ρωμα, "the piece that filleth it up"; taking πλήρωμα in the sense of "the supplement." It cannot be denied that this gives an admirable meaning in this place. Perhaps a stricter writer would have said ἀναπλήρωμα, for ἀναπληροῦν seems to differ from πληροῦν in the same way as "to fill up" differs from "to fill": it suggests the supply of a deficiency, rather than the filling of what is quite empty to start with. Apart from this, which is perhaps somewhat of a refinement, we might render the words, "the supplement taketh therefrom, *to wit*, the old *from* the new."

But Lightfoot boldly refuses the obvious explanation, and, insisting on his theory, interprets τὸ πλήρωμα as "the completeness which results from the patch." "The completeness takes away from the garment, the new *completeness* of the old *garment*." We must hesitate long before we dissent from the interpretations of so great an expositor: but we are sorely tempted to ask if there is not a nearer way to the truth than this.

To return: if we are to have a theory to cover all these formations in -μα, it seems wisest to abandon altogether the traditional rule "that substantives in -μα have a *passive* sense," and adopt in its place the wider rule "that they give the *result* of the agency of the corresponding verb." This result may be thought of as primarily an abstract idea. But it is a common phenomenon in language that words denoting abstract ideas have a tendency to fall into the concrete. The result of "mixing" is "mixture" (abstract); but, again, the result is "a mixture" (concrete).<sup>1</sup>

But before we discard a venerable tradition, let us try to do it some measure of justice. There must have

<sup>1</sup> It happens that "a mixture," when it ceases to be abstract, is *passive*; so, too, "a fixture" is "a thing fixed," and is *passive*; but "a legislature" is *active* and "legislates."

been some reason for a rule which has dominated us so long: and the reason appears to be this. There are two familiar sets of substantives in Greek which are derived from verbs: they are commonly spoken of as those ending in *-σις* and those ending in *-μα*. When we compare them for such verbs as *ποιέω*, *πράσσω*, *δίδωμι*, *μύγνυμι*, we find that the one class (*ποίησις*, *πρᾶξις*, *δόσις*, *μίξις*) expresses the action of the verb—"making," "doing," "giving," "mixing"; while the other class (*ποίημα*, *πρᾶγμα*, *δόμα*, *μύγμα*) represents the result of that action—"a thing made," "a deed," "a gift," "a mixture." A vast number of similar examples could be provided, and at once it appears that we have a simple distinction between the two classes: substantives in *-σις* have an *active* sense, substantives in *-μα* have a *passive* sense. Moreover we observe an obvious similarity between the formations in *-μα* and the perfect passive of the verbs from which they are derived:

*πεποίημαι, πεποιημένος, ποίημα*  
*πέπραγμαι, πεπραγμένος, πρᾶγμα*  
*δέδομαι, δεδομένος, δόμα*  
*μέμιγμαι, μεμιγμένος, μύγμα.*

It is probable that this "false analogy" has had something to do with propagating and maintaining the idea that these formations are specially connected with the *passive*.

As a matter of fact, it would conduce to clearness and accuracy if these formations were spoken of as formations in *-ματ-*, as their oblique cases show them to be. The formative suffix is added directly to the root or to the strengthened verbal stem: as *μυγ-*, *μυγ-ματ-*; *ποιη-*, *ποιη-ματ-*; whereas for the perfect passive the root is first reduplicated *μέ-μυγ-μαι*, *πε-ποίη-μαι*. The original

meaning of the formative suffix *-ματ-* is now altogether lost to our knowledge. It appears in Latin in a stronger form as *-mento-*, and in a weaker form as *-min-*; cf. "ornamentum" (from "ornare"), and "fragmen, -minis" (from "frangere"). Side by side with these Latin forms we have others in *-tion-*, as "ornatio, -onis," and "fractio, -onis," which are parallel to the Greek derivatives in *-σι-*.

The help that we gain from Comparative Grammar is thus of a negative kind; but we may be grateful for it, as releasing us from bondage to the old rule which connected these formations with the *passive* of the verb. We are now thrown back upon usage as our only guide to the discovery of a general signification which may serve as the starting-point of their classification.

I am not quite sure that we ought to demand such a general signification; but if we do, then "the *result* of the agency of the corresponding verb" may serve us well enough. Thus *πράγμα* is the result of "doing," i.e. "a deed"; *δῶμα*, the result of "giving," "a gift"; *ornamentum*, the result of "adorning," "an ornament"; "*fragmen*," the result of "breaking," "a fragment." But it is quite possible that this *result* should be followed by a substantive in the genitive case, so as to express the same relation as would be expressed if the corresponding verb were followed by the same substantive in the accusative case. Thus *ornamentum domus* would express the same relation as *ornare domum*: and *κώλυμα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως*, as *κωλύειν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν*. When this is the case, the word may fairly be said to have an *active* sense. In Latin we have such instances as *solamen*, *levamen*, *nutrimentum*, *momen* (= *mouimen*), and many others; most of them having fuller forms, perhaps as a rule later, in *-mentum*.

We may conveniently classify the Greek words of this formation in *-ματ-* under three heads:

- (1) Where the verb is intransitive, and accordingly there

is nothing transitive about the corresponding substantive : as ἀγώνισμα, αἰνιγμα, ἀλαζόνευμα, ἄλμα, ἀμάρτημα, βίωτευμα, γέλασμα, καύχημα.

(2) Where the verb is transitive, and the substantive corresponds to the object of the verb, and thus may rightly be said to have a *passive* sense : as ἄγγελμα, ἀγόρασμα, ἄγυρμα, αἴτημα, ἄκουσμα, ἀκρόαμα, γέννημα.

(3) Where the verb is transitive, and the substantive is no longer the object of the verb, but the object can be expressed as a genitive following the substantive : as ἀγλαΐσμα, ἄγνισμα, ἄγρευμα, ἄθροισμα, αἰώρημα, ἀλλοίωμα, ἄμμα, ἄμνγμα, ἀνάσεισμα, ἔνδειγμα, ἡδυσμα, μίμημα, σχίσμα. Why should not these be called *active* ?

It is important to notice that, in distinguishing between classes (2) and (3) usage is our only guide : there is nothing whatever in the nature of the formation which points us in one direction rather than in another. As a matter of fact many words oscillate between the two cases. Ἄγαλμα, for example, may be the object "honoured" (as ἀγάλματα θεῶν), or that "which gives honour" to the object (as ἄγαλμα δόμων) : βρῶμα may be the food eaten, or the canker that eats : βόσκημα, the cattle that are fed, or the food that feeds them : but it is seldom that both meanings are thus retained together.

If the forms in -ματ- perplex us by their apparent inconsistency, the forms in -σι- are scarcely less unsteady. They ought properly to remain in the abstract region to which they certainly belong ; but they are very unwilling in many cases to be so limited. They choose to descend into the concrete, and in doing so they often coincide with the corresponding forms in -ματ-. Thus in practice we find that τάξις and τύγμα can both mean "a rank" ; πράξις and πράγμα, "a deed" ; ἔνδειξις and ἔνδειγμα, "a proof" ; ἐρώτησις and ἐρώτημα, "a question." The starting-points of the two sets of words are different : the forms

in -σι- denote the action in *process*; the forms in -ματ-, the action in *result*. In the first instance always, in the second sometimes, the primary meaning is an abstract one; and so long as the abstract meaning is retained the distinction between the two sets of words is clear enough. When however the abstract gives way to the concrete, the distinction often disappears.

We have said enough on these two formations in general to clear the way for an examination of the word *πλήρωμα*, which has suffered hitherto from the loyalty of its expositors to a grammatical canon against which it was determined to rebel.

We may now examine some of the examples ordinarily cited. We begin with two nautical usages of the word. *Ναὺν πληροῦν*, or *πληροῦσθαι*, is "to man a ship," or "to get it manned"; and the result of such action in either case is *πλήρωμα*, which has the concrete meaning of "a crew." That *πλήρωμα* sometimes means "the ship," as being "the thing filled" with men, is not a strictly accurate statement. For in the passages cited (Lucian, *Ver. Hist.* ii. 37, 38, and Polyb. i. 49) the literal meaning is "crews"; though "to fight with two crews" (*ἀπὸ δύο πληρωμάτων μάχεσθαι*) is only another way of saying, "to fight with two ships." The other nautical use of *πλήρωμα* for a ship's "lading" or "cargo" is again a perfectly natural use of the word when it is concrete. To say that in these two instances *πλήρωμα* does not mean "that with which the ship is filled" is certainly a statement difficult to maintain. Nor can I see what is gained by maintaining it.

There is a whole class of instances in which the word *πλήρωμα* has a somewhat stronger sense, viz. that of "the full complement." Thus in Aristid. *Or.* i. p. 381 we have *μήτε αὐτάρκεις ἔσεσθαι πλήρωμα ἐνὸς οἰκείου στρατεύματος παρέχεσθαι*, i.e. enough to put it at full strength.

So πλήρωμα πόλεως is "the full population of a town," "a townful"; πλήρωμα δρακός (Eccles. iv. 6), "a handful"; πλήρωμα σφυρίδος, "a basketful."<sup>1</sup> In these cases the "fulness" spoken of is a "complement" in the sense of entirety: it is strictly a "fulness" in exchange for "emptiness."

II. But I am anxious to come on to S. Paul, and more especially to the passage which has prompted the foregoing investigation.

We have seen that πλήρωμα can be used as a "complement" or "a supplement," as that which "fills" or "fills up"; we have seen too that it can have the strong sense of "a full complement" or "totality."

And here I would recall an important, if somewhat obvious, distinction; viz. that the verb πληροῦν has two senses, a literal and a metaphorical sense. It may mean "to fill" or "to fulfil." Accordingly its derivative πλήρωμα may mean either "fulness" in the literal sense, or "fulness" in the metaphorical sense, that is to say "fulfilment."

Two examples of πλήρωμα occur in Romans xi. The first in v. 10, where S. Paul is discussing the failure, partial and temporary, as he would fain believe, of his own people to receive the Messiah. If the Gentiles have been enriched in a sense through the very miscarriage and disaster of Israel, what wealth is in store for them in the great Return, when all Israel shall be saved,—

"When God hath made the pile complete"!

This is what S. Paul means by, "How much more their

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mark viii. 20: πύσων σφυρίδων πληρώματα κλασμάτων ἤρατε; "How many basketfuls of fragments took ye up?" "Basketfuls" is an unpleasant plural; but S. Mark's Greek is certainly not less harsh. As to Mark vi. 43, καὶ ἤραν κλασμάτων δώδεκα κοφίνους πληρώματα, I can only say that on no theory of the meaning of πληρώματα could it ever have been tolerable to a Greek ear. If S. Mark wrote it so, the other Evangelists were fully justified in altering it, even though the later copyists were not.

fulness" (τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῶν). It is not so much "the whole number," as "the fulfilment of their whole number." In quite a similar sense he speaks in v. 25 of "the fulness" or "fulfilment of the Gentiles (τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν)."

Another instructive instance of S. Paul's use of the word is found in Romans xiii. 10, πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη, "Love is the fulfilment of the Law." For he has just said in v. 8, "He that loveth hath fulfilled the law" (νόμον πεπλήρωκεν). No one commandment of the old commandments fulfils the law: all of them together of course do. And they are all gathered up in one in the command to love. Consequently, love does fulfil the law; nothing is lacking where love comes; love is the completion, the fulfilment of the law.

Before I go on to Ephesians i. 23, I would recur for a moment to an oft-quoted passage of Aristotle, in which he is criticising Plato's *Republic* (Arist. *Polit.* iv. 4). The simplest conceivable form of a city, Socrates had said, must contain six kinds of artisans or labourers—weaver, husbandman, shoemaker, builder, smith, herdsman; and in addition to these, to make up a city, you must have a merchant and a retail dealer. "These together"—to use Aristotle's words—"form the *pleroma* of a city in its simplest stage": ταῦτα πάντα γίνεται πλήρωμα τῆς πρώτης πόλεως. If you have all these elements present, then your extremely simple city is complete. They are its *pleroma*. With them you can have a city, without them you cannot. Nothing less than these can make a city, *quâ* city, complete.

Now, when St. Paul declares in Ephesians i. 23 that the Church is the *pleroma* or fulness of the Christ, he would appear to mean that in some mysterious sense the Church is that without which the Christ is not complete, but with which He is complete. That is to say, he looks upon the Christ as in a sense waiting for completeness,

and destined in the purpose of God to find that completeness in the Church.

This is a somewhat startling thought. Are we justified in thus giving to S. Paul's language what appears to be its obvious meaning?

(1) First, I would call attention to the metaphor which the Apostle has just used, and which leads directly up to this statement. Christ is the Head of the Church, which is His Body. Now, is it not true that in a certain sense the Body is the *pleroma* of the Head? Is the Head complete without the Body? Can we even think of a head as performing its functions without a body? In the sense then in which the Body is the fulness or completion of the Head, it is clear that with S. Paul we may think of the Church as the fulness or completion of the Christ.

Even now, in the imperfect stage of the Church, we can see that this is true. The Church is that through which Christ lives on and works on here below on earth. Jesus, the Christ incarnate, is no longer on earth as He was. His feet and hands no longer move and work in our midst, as once they moved and wrought in Palestine. But S. Paul affirms that He is not without feet and hands on earth: the Church is His Body. Through the Church, which S. Paul refuses to think of as separate from Him, He still lives and moves among men.

(2) But, further, we must not forget that, although it may make havoc of his metaphors, S. Paul will never let us forget that the relation of the Church to Christ is something even closer than that of a body to its head. When he is combating the spirit of jealousy and division in the Corinthian Church, he works out in detail the metaphor of the Body and its parts as applied to the Christian Society. But he does not there speak of Christ as the Head. For not only does he point out the absurdity of the head's saying to the feet, I have no need of you;

but he also refers to the seeing, the hearing, and the smelling, to which he could not well have alluded as separate functions had he been thinking of Christ as the Head. Indeed in that great passage Christ holds what is, if possible, a more impressive position still: He is no part, but rather the Whole of which the many members are parts: "For as the body is one and hath many members, and all the members of the body being many are one body; so also is the Christ" (1 Cor. xii. 12). This is in exact correspondence with the image employed by our Lord Himself (John xv. 5): "I am the Vine, ye are the branches." That is to say, not "I am the trunk of the vine, and ye are the branches growing out of the trunk"; but rather, "I am the living Whole, ye are the parts whose life is a life dependent on the Whole."

It is interesting to observe that in Ephesians v. 22 ff., when S. Paul comes to expound the details of human relationship as based on high and eternal truths, he says in the first place: "Let wives be subject to their own husbands as to the Lord; because the husband is head of the wife, as also Christ is Head of the Church, Himself being saviour of the body"; but then, turning to the husbands, he drops the metaphor of headship, and bids them love their wives as their own bodies, following again the example of Christ in relation to His Church; and he cites the ideal of marriage as proclaimed at the Creation of Man, "the twain shall become one flesh." Not headship here, but identity, is the relation in view. "This mystery," he adds, "is a mighty one: but I speak it with reference to Christ and to the Church."

Thus the two conceptions, though the imagery may fail to express them both at once, involve to S. Paul's mind no inherent inconsistency. He passes easily from the one to the other. Each in turn serves to bring out some side of the truth.

In Ephesians i. 23 the Apostle has begun with the exalted Christ; and he asks, How does He in His supreme position of authority stand to the Church? He stands as Head to the Body. But this is never all the truth; and if we bear in mind S. Paul's further conception in accordance with which the Whole, Head and Body together, is "the Christ," we get yet further help in our interpretation of the statement that the Church is the Pleroma of the Christ. For it is plainer than ever that without the Church the Christ is incomplete. And as the Church grows towards completion, the Christ grows towards completion, the Christ who in the Divine purpose is to be "all in all"; if we may use the language of our own great poet, "the Christ that is to be."

(3) Again, this conception illuminates and in turn receives light from a remarkable passage in the Epistle to the Colossians. S. Paul is speaking of his own sufferings (Col. i. 24): he can even rejoice in them, he tells us. If the Church and the Christ are one, the suffering of the Church and the suffering of the Christ are not two but one. The Christ, then, has not suffered all that He is destined to suffer; for He goes on suffering in the sufferings of the Church. These sufferings of the Church have fallen with special heaviness on S. Paul. He rejoices to think that so large a share is allotted to him. He is filling up something of what has still to be filled up, if the sufferings are to be complete. So he says: "Now I rejoice in my sufferings on your behalf, and fill up in your stead the remainder ('the deficits') of the sufferings of the Christ, in my flesh, on behalf of His Body, which is the Church" (*ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ*).

Thus then the Church, the completion of the Christ, is destined to complete His sufferings; and S. Paul rejoices that as a member of the Church he is allowed by God to do a large share of this in his own person on the Church's

behalf. The thought is astounding; it could never have occurred to a less generous spirit than S. Paul's. It is of value to us here, as helping to show in one special direction how to S. Paul's mind the Christ in a true sense still waited for completion, and would find that completion only in the Church.

(4) The very next words which follow the word on which our attention has been fixed help, I believe, yet further to justify our interpretation. The Church is "the fulness" or "fulfilment" of Him who all in all is being fulfilled (*τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν πληρουμένου*).

Here S. Paul, if we interpret him in the most obvious and natural way, is still speaking of the Christ as moving towards completion. The thought is difficult and mysterious no doubt; but the Apostle has given us abundant warning earlier in this Epistle that he is dealing with no ordinary themes. He has already told us that the purpose of God is "to gather up in one all things in the Christ" (i. 10). Until that great purpose is fully achieved the Christ is not yet all that the Divine wisdom has determined that He shall be. He still waits for His fulfilment, His completeness. As that is being gradually worked out, the Christ is being fulfilled, being completed—*πληρούμενος*.

The only grammatical difficulty which attends the translation which I have given above is the position of the words *τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν*, *lit.* "all (things) in all (things)" It does not appear to me to be a serious difficulty. The phrase is used adverbially, to heighten the verb.

In 1 Corinthians xii. 6 we read: "One God which worketh all in all" (*τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν*); but there the construction is of course quite simple. In 1 Corinthians xv. 28 we have: "That God may be all in all" (*πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν*), and in Colossians iii. 1: "Christ is all in all" (*πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν*). In each of these cases there is some evidence for reading *τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν*: but the matter is

not important, as the article would naturally be omitted in the predicate. The phrase, I take it, has become stereotyped, very much as our English phrase "all in all." Here, in an adverbial sense, it is more emphatic that the classical adverb *παντάπασιν*, which as a matter of fact is not found in the New Testament. Its appropriateness is increased by the fact that the phrase is twice used, as we have seen, by S. Paul of Christ and of God. All conceivable fulness, a completeness which sums up the universe, is predicated of Christ, as the issue of the Divine purpose.

"Through the Church" (iii. 10) this purpose is being worked out. The Head finds its completeness in the Body: the Church is the completion of the Christ: for the Christ is being completed, is moving towards a completeness absolute and all-inclusive.

"He hath given Him to be Head over all to the Church, which is His Body, the fulness of Him who all in all is being fulfilled." Thus the two words which have caused difficulty, *πλήρωμα* and *πληρουμένου*, are seen to explain and justify each other.

It is right that we should consider the alternative explanation which has been offered of the second word—for it is that of the English version, nor have the Revisers made any change at this point. It is to take *πληρουμένου* as middle, and to render, "that filleth all in all." This certainly appears at first sight to be a simpler course; but it involves a usage of which we have no other example. The only cases cited for *πληροῦσθαι* as middle are those in which a captain is said to man his ship (*ναὺν πληροῦσθαι*). But this is a perfectly natural and correct use of the middle, "to get it filled," just as *παῖδα διδάσκεισθαι* is to get your boy taught, when you do not teach him yourself (*διδάσκειν*). It is plain that this offers no justification of the middle being here taken in what is really the active sense. S. Paul does indeed (in iv. 10) speak of Christ as

ascending "that He might fill all things"; but then he uses the active (*ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα*). Had his meaning here been the same, we can hardly doubt that he would have said *πληροῦντος*, and would not have used a word which always means something different, and which he himself uses in the passive sense again and again (Eph. iii. 19, v. 18; Col. i. 9, ii. 18, iv. 12).

So long as *πλήρωμα* was regarded as "the thing filled," it was practically necessary to speak of Christ as "the filler"; and so against all grammatical authority to give a transitive meaning to *πληρουμένου*. But once the meaning of *πλήρωμα* is made clear, the harsh necessity vanishes, and the natural interpretation is found to be the simplest and the most in accordance with the thought of S. Paul.

In a matter of so great importance, and especially when we seem to be in conflict with an accepted interpretation of long standing, it is right to ask how the passage was translated in the oldest versions. Those who made these versions in the first instance were not great scholars like S. Jerome in a later age, and King James's translators in 1611; but they lived when the kind of Greek which the Apostles wrote was a living language; so that it is always worth while to know what they thought a passage meant.

(1) *The Latin*. What seems to be an early form of the Latin has *supplementum (eius) qui omnia et in omnibus impletur* (Sabatier). The usual Latin is *plenitudo eius qui omnia in omnibus adimpletur*: so the Vulgate, and S. Jerome in his Commentary. The sense is in either case that which we have preferred: the verb is taken as passive, and no difficulty is felt in the adverbial phrase "all in all."

(2) *The Syriac*. We find in the Peshito (the Syriac Vulgate) that an active meaning is given to the verb. But we have evidence that the earlier Syriac Version, of which the Peshito was a revision, took it as passive. For S. Ephraim, a Syrian Father, wrote a Commentary on the

Epistles of S. Paul in Syriac. It has been preserved to us in an Armenian translation only ; but from this we can see that the Version which S. Ephraim used must have given the verb a passive sense.

(3) *The Egyptian*. Both forms of this Version—the Bohairic (or Memphitic) and the Sahidic (or Thebaic)—take the verb in the passive sense.

Thus the three great Versions of antiquity are on our side. The Latin Church, the early Syrian Church, and the Egyptian Church, agree with us in the meaning which we have assigned to the words.

From these simple translators let us turn in conclusion to two of the greatest of the masters of interpretation. Let us look first at Chrysostom, and then we may fitly close with the words of Origen.

Chrysostom, in his Commentary on the passage (Savile, iii. 776), after expounding the Headship of Christ to His Body, says :

“ But, as though this were not enough to show the relation and close connexion, what says he ? The fulness, he says, of Christ is the Church. For the fulness of the head is the body, and the fulness of the body is the head. . . . The fulness, he says : that is, just as the head is filled (or ‘fulfilled’) by the body. For the body is constituted of all its parts, and has need of each one. . . . For if we be not many, and one a hand, another a foot, and another some other part, then the whole Body is not fulfilled. By means of all, then, His Body is fulfilled. Then the Head is fulfilled, then there comes to be a perfect Body, when we all together are knit and joined in one. Do you see the riches of the glory of the inheritance ? Do you see the exceeding greatness of the power to usward who believe ? Do you see the hope of the calling ? ”

Origen’s Commentary on the Ephesians is unhappily only preserved in fragments in a *Catena*, or Chain-commentary, selected out of the works of various writers. This *Catena* does not always mark accurately the source of its quotations, nor warn us when it passes from one

writer to another. Now, as it happens, S. Jerome wrote a Commentary on the same Epistle, and in his Preface tells us that he made use of Origen. The *Catena* shows us that again and again he simply translated and embodied him almost without change. Thus, in turn, we are helped to see that passages of the *Catena* which might seem of uncertain authorship are the very Greek of Origen from which Jerome was translating. We have this attestation to assure us here, though Jerome has cut the passage rather short (Cramer, *Catena in Ephes.* pp. 133 ff.).

"Now, we desire to know in what way the Church, being the Body of Christ, is the fulness of Him who all in all is being fulfilled; and why it is not said 'of Him who filleth (πληροῦντος) all in all,' but who is Himself 'filled' (or 'fulfilled,' πληρουμένου): for it will seem as though it would have been more naturally said that Christ was He who filleth, and not He who is filled. For He Himself is not only the fulness of the Law, but also of all fulnesses ever the fulness, since nothing comes to be full apart from Him. See, then, if this be not the answer, that inasmuch as, for the close relation and fellowship of the Son with reasonable beings, the Son of God is the fulness of all reasonable beings, so too He Himself takes as it were a fulness into Himself, being shown to be most full in regard to each of the blessed. And that what is said may be the plainer, conceive of a king as being filled with kingdom in respect of each of those who augment his kingdom, and being emptied thereof in the case of those who revolt from their king. So nothing is more in harmony with the merciful kingdom of Christ, than each of those reasonable beings aided and perfected by Him who help to fulfil that kingdom, in that fleeing unto Him they help to fulfil His Body, which is in a manner empty, while it lacks those that are thus aided by Him. Wherefore Christ is fulfilled in all that come unto Him, whereas He is still lacking in respect of them before they have come."

The words of the great master are not always clear, but his illustration is a good one up to a certain point: and at least there is no doubt of what he thought the passage meant.

With all his efforts after universality Origen was still too much of an individualist to enter wholly into the mind of S. Paul. Yet he speaks, as indeed S. Paul speaks, with

a clearer voice to our age than to any that has preceded it. Our yearning after unity, our recognition—faint though it still be—of the meaning and the mission of the Church, is enabling us at last to catch something of the sense of the prophetic voices of the past.

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON.

*THE NEW VERSIONS OF THE PSALTER AND  
THE BOOK OF JUDGES.*

BEAUTIFUL as the Authorized Version is, it must be confessed that its too exclusive use is one of the chief hindrances to a living appreciation of the Scriptures, and, accurate as it is, if compared with the Latin Vulgate, its frequent obscurity shows that the translators often missed the sense of the original writers, and that something more is wanted to open the door effectually to this priceless literature. Hebrew scholars have now and then attempted to retranslate the Old Testament, but they have generally taken as their basis the text received by us from the Jews, which, though both as a text and (in the vowel-points) as an interpretation by no means contemptible, is obviously full of faults, not a few of which may with practical certainty, and many more with different degrees of probability, be removed. Prof. Haupt, an eminent Semitic scholar, whose career as an Assyriologist has been as brilliant perhaps as it could be, and who is also interested in the future of religion, has therefore conceived the idea of getting the Old Testament retranslated on the basis of a critically revised text. For himself he has selected the modern thinker's favourite book—Ecclesiastes; the other books have been allotted by him (as general editor) to different English, American, Australian, German, and Dutch

scholars, who have all undertaken to carry out the well-thought-out rules set forth in the original prospectus. There is to be a Hebrew edition of the text of each book, in which the grounds of all critical corrections are set forth for the Hebraist. There is also to be an English edition, presenting, in addition to the English translation, a brief commentary on all those points which even in a strictly popular version may remain obscure. The different parts of each composite work (and of such the Old Testament contains many) are printed, where expediency demands this, in colours, to enable the reader to tell at a glance to which record or document a section belongs; each section having its own colour, except where, for convenience sake, some principal document is printed in black, without further colouring. All necessary critical information, with approximate dates for the composition of the records, is given with the notes.

It would have been a serious blot in the plan of this work if Dr. Haupt had been the sole editor. For most persons will doubt whether a German scholar, transplanted to America, could possibly obtain a perfect mastery of English diction, and above all of English rhythm. They will admit that Prof. Max Müller is in truth one of our best living English writers, but they will account for this by the fact that literature has always been his recreation, as indeed in the case of a poet's son we should expect it to be. And so, to meet these sceptics, and with a proper diffidence in his own qualifications, Dr. Haupt applied for assistance to Dr. H. H. Furness, who knows English literature in its greatest period as few besides him do, and who to a profound knowledge of words joins a sensitive ear for rhythm. With no slight degree of self-sacrifice, Dr. Furness consented to join Dr. Haupt as his assistant. It is his self-denying work to read through all the transla-

tions sent in by the English, American, and Australian contributors, and, where in his judgment it is desirable, to suggest modifications. Still more trouble is in store for him in dealing with English translations of German (or Dutch) translations of the Hebrew text; here the collaboration of Dr. Haupt will no doubt be specially necessary. In the only case of a German scholar's contribution as yet made known to us Dr. Furness has actually been at the pains to recast the whole translation himself in an English mould, and the result is the most beautiful version of the Hebrew psalms which exists in our language.

Regarding it simply as a specimen of translation, it is the Psalter which interests me most in the three volumes of the Old Testament which lie before me. The *Isaiah* is my own work; in spite of Dr. Furness's invaluable suggestions, it is still my own, and I therefore cannot refer to it. The volume on *Judges* certainly has many points of interest, but the subject-matter of the book does not appeal to one's deepest nature as the Psalter does. Besides, since such a great English scholar as Dr. Furness is from one point of view the translator of the Psalter, we can form an opinion here, better than in *Isaiah* and *Judges*, whether the modern theory of a translation of the Bible, advocated by Dr. Haupt and himself, is in all points satisfactory or not.

If the reader should ask, What is the modern theory of a translation of the Bible? I should reply, The theory that good modern English (or French, or German, as the case may be) is good enough as a vehicle of the sense of the original. This was not the theory upon which King James's translators acted. Their theory was one upon which no other book in their day or in ours has been translated. Let Selden be witness. He says in his vigorously expressed *Table Talk*:

“There is no book so translated as the Bible for the purpose. If I translate a French book into English, I turn it into English phrase, not into French English. I say, 'tis cold; not, it makes cold; but the Bible is rather translated into English words than into English phrase. The Hebraisms are kept, and the phrase of that language is kept.”

Selden then quotes an example, and remarks that “[this] is well enough so long as scholars have to do with it; but when it comes among the common people, Lord, what gear do they make of it?” But this wise old scholar might have chosen many less striking but almost more instructive instances. No student of Hebrew can have failed to perceive the large number of Hebraisms by which the translators of our Bible have corrupted the pure English of their day. Idioms such as cannot be found in North's *Plutarch* abound in the Authorised Version; and though Archbishop Trench, I think, accounts these Hebraisms, or some of them, to be enrichments of our language, we must examine them very closely, in the light of our best subsequent literature, to determine whether they are so. Dr. Furness and Dr. Haupt have, at any rate, decided in an adverse sense. They have sought for an English which is modern without being vulgar, and with just such an occasional suggestion of the Elizabethan language as, without embarrassing the unscholarly reader, may please the ear of the literary, and remind them of the great old age of English undefiled.

I will now endeavour to draw out the merits of the Wellhausen-Furness Psalter as a translation, leaving altogether on one side the question of the correctness of the text. I feel that I should draw aside the reader's attention from the main point if I were to expatiate on the merits or demerits of Wellhausen as an editor, and

will only assure the ordinary reader that the text has, on the whole, been dealt with very tenderly by the Göttingen professor. My specimens shall be taken first from those psalms which appeal most to Christian experience, or are concerned with moral problems, and next from those which are of special interest from their traditional connection with the life of Jesus Christ. I venture, however, to substitute Jehovah for the unpronounceable JHVH,<sup>1</sup> and also to neglect the division into lines, and the symbols relative to the comparatively few corrections of the received text.

"<sup>1</sup>Jehovah is my shepherd; therefore I can lack nothing. <sup>2</sup>On pastures growing green He lets me lie down, to waters of repose He leads me. <sup>3</sup>He refreshes my soul, and in paths of righteousness He guides me, for His Name's sake. <sup>4</sup>Yea, though I walk through a valley of deep darkness, I fear no harm; Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy crook, they comfort me. <sup>5</sup>Thou spreadest my table in the presence of mine enemies; Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runs over. <sup>6</sup>Nought but goodness and mercy will follow me all the days of my life, and in the house of Jehovah I shall dwell evermore."

In *v.* 1 note the fine effect produced by the substitution of "can" for "shall"; "I can lack nothing." It reminds us of St. Paul's "If God be for us, who can be against us?" Then, in *v.* 2, observe the fine emphasis on the quality of the pastures, and the delightful tripping of the words; also the alliteration, which in this, as in every version of the Psalms, is all too rare, and deserves all the more grateful recognition when it does

<sup>1</sup> On pages 163, 164 Dr. Haupt states as his opinion that the true pronunciation of JHVH was Yahwè (Iahway). It is apparently out of regard for educational prejudices that he does not place the true form (vowels included) in the text. The same regard leads me (only) in the present article to adopt the monstrous but familiar form Jehovah, which is as old in English literature as Marlowe ("Doctor Faustus").

occur.<sup>1</sup> In *v. 2* and *v. 4* observe that Hebraisms, when beautiful in themselves and not repugnant to the genius of our language, are not avoided by the new translators. I am not sure, however, that the Hebraisms in these verses are not a mistake. In *v. 4* note the fine effect produced by the omission of the (in English) unnecessary "for"; "I fear no harm; Thou art with me." In *v. 5* how delicately the word "crook" suggests the shepherd's office! In *v. 6* how fine is the new idea introduced, "nought but goodness and mercy!" The translator seems partial to this interpretation, for again in *lxxiii. 1* we read in this Psalter, "God is good, and good only, to Israel." Such is the new version of one of the best-loved psalms. I will not say that friendly rivalry is not possible even here. Translation is a marriage of minds—the author's and the translator's, and between the two comes a middle man, the scholar. But I would not in this article expose myself to be accused of captiousness; I will, as far as possible, forget that I am of the craft of Wellhausen. For no one has a right to criticise, except very humbly, this new setting of David's melodies, unless he is prepared for a wrestling match with its authors.<sup>2</sup>

Here is a portion of Psalm xxxii.:

"<sup>5</sup>My sin I laid bare to Thee, my guilt I did not conceal. I said, I will acknowledge my sin to Jehovah. Then Thou forgavest the guilt of my sin. <sup>6</sup>Therefore let all pious men pray to Thee: that, in the hour of distress, the rush of great waters may not overtake them.

<sup>1</sup> The parallel lines in Wellhausen-Furness's edition are virtually free metrical unrhymed verses. The want of rhyme would to some extent be compensated by a judicious use of alliteration, which is so frequent in the oldest English poetry.

<sup>2</sup> It is, however, of course only incidentally that my forthcoming revised translation of the Psalms will assume a controversial character. I may be permitted to say that the idea of basing it on a new revision of the text was formed quite independently of Wellhausen's example.

<sup>7</sup>Thou art my shelter, Thou dost protect me from danger, Thou dost encompass me with security."

Notice here in *v.* 5 "laid bare" for "acknowledged." A stronger expression than the Hebrew, to compensate (it would seem) for any occasional weakening of the Hebrew phrase. "Then thou forgavest," instead of the too weak rendering, "And Thou forgavest." In *v.* 6 a brilliant (though possibly improvable) conjecture of Lagarde is adopted, to the great advantage of the sense. The two closing words of *v.* 7, however, seem to me to need the symbol "?". I should also like to have heard the debate on the phrase, "Thou forgavest the guilt of my sin."

Then take Psalm xli. :

<sup>1</sup>God is our Refuge and Stronghold, a Help well proved in distress. <sup>2</sup>Therefore we fear not, though the earth bubble, and though mountains shake in the heart of the sea. <sup>3</sup>Let its waters roar and foam, let mountains quake at its uproar: Jehovah Sabaoth is with us, the God of Jacob is our fortress.

<sup>4</sup>A brook, whose waters make glad the city of God, is the Most High in His habitation. <sup>5</sup>God is in the midst of her, therefore she totters not; God helps her, when the morning dawns. <sup>6</sup>Nations rage, kingdoms totter, thunder rolls, till the earth trembles: <sup>7</sup>Jehovah Sabaoth is with us, the God of Jacob is our fortress.

<sup>8</sup>Come hither, and behold the works of Jehovah, what signs He sets on the earth! <sup>9</sup>Who, throughout the world, suppresses wars, bows He snaps, spears He breaks, chariots He burns with fire. <sup>10</sup>Be still, and know that I am God: I triumph over the nations, I triumph over the world. <sup>11</sup>Jehovah Sabaoth is with us, the God of Jacob is our fortress."

In *v.* 1*b* the old familiar rendering is no doubt beautiful, but it is too vague. Facts alone are arguments when the

foundations of the physical or moral world are shaking. It is past experience to which the old Jewish saints appealed as a remedy for doubt (see lxxvii. 5). Thus far Jehovah has proved Himself a Help in distress; can He cease to be so now? In v. 2 Dr. Furness (who must surely have the credit of this) again substitutes a strong English phrase for a weak Hebrew one. The Hebrew is, literally, not "though the earth bubble," but "though the earth change." I wonder if Dr. Furness thought of Shakespeare's "suffer a sea-change." I will not criticise this; Dr. Furness no doubt did his best with Wellhausen's German, and Wellhausen is, on the whole, very tender with the received text. The whole version is most effective. But I should like to have heard the debate on "Who, throughout the world, suppresses wars."

Perhaps no psalm has been more carefully done than the 77th. I will quote the first ten verses, which Wellhausen regards as a separate fragment of a psalm.

"<sup>1</sup>With my voice I cried unto God,—with my voice unto God,—I hoped He would hear me. <sup>2</sup>In the hour of my need I turned to the Lord; my hand was stretched out in the night without ceasing. But my soul would allow itself no consolation. <sup>3</sup>I cried unto God and I wailed; I prayed, but my spirit was wrapped in gloom. <sup>4</sup>My eyelids Thou holdest fast closed; I was filled with unrest, and nought could I speak. <sup>5</sup>I pictured the days of old, the years of ancient times. <sup>6</sup>I remembered my harp in the night, and I prayed from my heart; but my soul suffered anguish. <sup>7</sup>Will then the Lord be for ever rejecting, and never again show Himself pleased? <sup>8</sup>Is then His goodness ended for ever? And His faithfulness—is it clean gone for all time to come? <sup>9</sup>Has God forgotten again to be gracious? Has He withdrawn His pity, in wrath? <sup>10</sup>And I said: Lo, this is my anguish: the right hand of the Highest is no longer the same."

How perplexing this passage is, even in the Revised Version, need not be said. The new translators have deserved well of the public by giving a clear, interesting, and suggestive version. I will not spoil the reader's enjoyment of it by criticism. It may have been hard to give up the time-honoured rendering, "My soul refused to be comforted." But when the surrounding context had been so much altered, a single bit of the Authorized Version would have seemed like a patch from an old garment. The rhythm of the new rendering is not indeed the old one, but it is good, and it suits the fine flowing rhythm of the rest of the passage. How fine is the new seventh verse! And how touching is the nobly expressed idea of the new tenth verse! I speak here simply from the point of view of lovers of clear, melodious English. Preachers, too, will, I think, be grateful for this noble speech of the much-tried Jewish Church.

Among those psalms which, like Job, are specially concerned with moral problems, the 73rd stands pre-eminent. I am bound to give a sample of the new version of it. I think it will be plain here that much as the translator loves rhythm, he values intelligibility still more. The result is a compromise, in which rhythm is but seldom worsted. I omit verses 20-22.

"<sup>13</sup> Surely in vain have I kept my heart pure, and in innocency washed my hands; <sup>14</sup> for all the day long I am plagued, and my chastisement starts every morning afresh. <sup>15</sup> Had I, in this sort, wished to exclaim, to the community of Thy children I had then proved a traitor. <sup>16</sup> But when I pondered that I might understand it, it seemed in mine eyes a wearisome task, <sup>17</sup> until I penetrated the mysteries of God, and marked their final days. <sup>18</sup> It is but on slippery ground that Thou settest them; down to ruin Thou hurlest them. <sup>19</sup> How in a moment are they turned to nothing! gone! ended by terrors! . . . <sup>23</sup> Yet do I

stay by Thee ever, Thou holdest my right hand fast, <sup>24</sup>Thou ledest me, according to Thy counsels and takest me by the hand, after Thee. <sup>25</sup>Whom have I in heaven? whom beside Thee do I care for on earth? <sup>26</sup>My body and my heart pass away, but the Rock of my heart and my portion is God evermore. <sup>27</sup>For lo, they who abandon Thee perish; Thou destroyest all those who break faith with Thee. <sup>28</sup>But my happiness lies in my nearness to God; in the Lord, Jehovah, I put my reliance, that I may rehearse all Thy works."

In *v.* 15 the rendering "in this sort" delicately expresses the true meaning, viz., that verses 13, 14 are not the exact words, but a sample of the thoughts of a Jewish sceptic. To have indulged in them would have cut the speaker off from the true Israel, the "community of God's children" or worshippers. In *v.* 17 the phrase "mysteries of God" takes the place of "sanctuary of God." Certainly it is a fine idea, if this metaphorical use of the term "sanctuaries" be admissible in the Psalter. Wellhausen doubtless thought of Wisdom ii. 21, 22.

"Thus reasoned they, and they were led astray; for their wickedness blinded them, and they knew not the mysteries of God."

The "mysteries of God" are the principles of His government which He discloses to those who "know" Him, such as will amply justify the seeming anomalies of the present age. One of these "mysteries" related to the continued existence of the wicked, which was like a discord in the concert of the hymn of praise to the Creator. Verses 23-26 are certainly one of the gems of the book; for the sake of them we can excuse that excessive craving after clearness of rendering which, to a lover of rhythm, may seem to have spoiled some passages. I am not sure, however, that the second half of *v.* 24 is quite equal to the first. The fault, if fault there be, is not Dr. Furness's, but

Prof. Wellhausen's, who believes the received reading corrupt, and endeavours to heal the corruption.

Turning now to what have been sometimes, but I think wrongly, called the specially Christian psalms, must we not pause first at Psalm xxii. ? I will quote a small portion, which includes a rearrangement specially dear to Wellhausen.

"<sup>12</sup>Strong bullocks encompass me, bulls of Bashan have beset me round. <sup>16</sup>Dogs encompass me, a crew of villains encircle me. <sup>13</sup>Their mouths gape open wide at me (like) a ravening, roaring lion. <sup>14</sup>Like water am I poured out, all my bones are disjoined ; my heart is like wax, and melts in my bosom. <sup>15</sup>Dry as a sherd is my throat, and my tongue cleaves to the roof of my mouth. In the dust of death Thou dost stretch me ! <sup>17</sup>I can count all my bones. My enemies stare, and on me feast their eyes. <sup>18</sup>My garments they part among them, for my vesture do they cast lots."

Two things will at once strike the reader, viz., the absence of the famous words, "they pierced my hands and my feet," and the insertion of *v.* 16 between verses 12 and 13. On the former point a note states that "the reading in the Greek Bible, 'They have dug through [*ῥομφαίαν*] my hands and feet,' is inexplicable in this connection." He adds that "the Hebrew word which the Greek translator thought he read can hardly mean 'to pierce through,' notwithstanding xl. 6," and that "in the Gospel, also, there is nothing said about the piercing of the *feet* of Jesus."

I fancy that some readers may smile at the last remark. How can the non-mention of the piercing of the feet of the Lord Jesus have anything to do with the correct reading of a passage in a psalm ? They may also criticise Wellhausen's implied disbelief in the piercing of the feet of the Crucified One, and observe that such an extreme critic of the evangelical narrative as Brandt thinks the

piercing of the feet as well as the hands probable.<sup>1</sup> However there is no doubt much to be said in favour of the rendering, "as a lion my hands and my feet," which Wellhausen (after Olshausen) relegates to the foot of the page as a combination of two explanatory glosses which has by accident found its way into the text. The transposition of v. 17 is at any rate less plausible, but will be received by students with the respect due to the name of its proposer. Wellhausen thinks that the connection is much improved by it, and it would be captious on this occasion to express a critical doubt as to his procedure.

To Dr. Furness is due the credit of the rhythm. Of course, in v. 17 we should read "ón me feast their eyes," not "on mé feast their eyes." Of course, too, in v. 14 it is not a preference of the phrase "disjointed" to the phrase "out of joint" which has dictated the form of the rendering, but a sense of rhythm. In this context, "all my bones are out of joint" would not have been in perfect rhythm.

In xxxi. 5, the Authorized Version has "Into Thine hand I commit my spirit." The Revised Version, to harmonize the passage with Luke xxiii. 46, substitutes "I commend." Dr. Furness, however, sees that "I commend" suggests a wrong idea. For a moment, as we read the Revised Version, we cannot help thinking of the narrative of the Passion. But the translator has no right to impose a reminiscence of the Passion upon us. He has only to give the best rendering, and in this case, not "commend," but "commit" is clearly the best. But whether it was necessary to say, "I commit my life" (instead of "my breath"), I cannot help doubting. Dr. Furness perhaps thought that in English "breath" cannot be said to be committed to any one's hand. But if so, why

<sup>1</sup> Brandt, *Die evangelische Geschichte* (1893), pp. 188, 189. He thinks that Luke xxiv. 39 is more directly historical than John xx. 25.

not change "hand" into "keeping." At any rate, the choice of rhythm is, even in this minute point, admirable. The passage runs :

"I commit my life to Thy hand ; Thou deliverest me, O Jehovah, Thou faithful God !" The change of "Thine" into "Thy" is also a change for the better. In Luke xxiii. 46 even the Authorised Version has "into *thy* hands."

In viii. 2 the Hebrew and the Greek Psalters differ, whence arises a discrepancy between the Authorized Version of the Psalm and that of Matthew xxi. 16. "Thou hast ordained strength" in the former becomes "hast Thou perfected praise" in the latter. The new version runs thus :

"Thou createst, from the mouths of children and of sucklings, a power, because of Thine enemies, to silence the foe and the revengeful."

Here Dr. Furness has not ventured on as much freedom as on some other occasions. The only new experiment on which he ventures is the prefixing of the verb. Of course he was limited by the German translation sent by Wellhausen. All the explanation given by the latter in his note is, that "the continued adoration of JHVH is ensured by the next generation. Enemies trouble themselves in vain." I do not wish to obtrude my own opinions, but I think that the ordinary reader will desiderate a fuller comment.

In lxviii. 18, the Hebrew text and the Greek version given by Paul in Ephesians iv. 8 differ, and it is probable, as Kirkpatrick remarks, that Paul's quotation has influenced the rendering of Psalm lxviii. 18, in the Authorized Version. Certainly, "Thou hast received gifts for men," which the Prayer-Book version also has, is "an impossible rendering" (Kirkpatrick). The whole verse runs thus in the new version :

"Thou hast ascended the height, Thou hast made booty of men, Thou hast received men as a gift; only the rebellious dwell not with Jah, God."

I can scarcely think that Dr. Furness allowed the two closing words to stand without a pang. Prof. Wellhausen's note states that "the men whom God brings home from Jerusalem, as spoils from His campaign, are the Jews who are led back from the heathen land (v. 6)." The reference to verse 6 is certainly suggestive, whether the view of the text is in all points correct or not. In passing, we may notice Dr. Furness's boldness in introducing the word "comfort" (Delitzsch, *Wohlergehen*) into the rendering of v. 6. Here at any rate I do not see the dash of Elizabethan English which Dr. Haupt has led us to expect. I notice this in no captious spirit, and am prepared to be corrected.

In Psalm cx. 1 the only difficulty consists in the right rendering of  $\Upsilon$ . Prof. Beet, out of deference to apostolic authority, interprets the passage thus: "This prophecy declares that on the right hand of God Christ shall sit, ruling among His enemies, until their power shall be utterly destroyed. Therefore, not till then can He give up to God His redemptive reign" (*Commentary on Corinthians*, 1883, p. 276). But, as Delitzsch remarks, " $\Upsilon$  does not exclude the time on the other side of the event referred to, but includes it (as in cxii. 8, Gen. xlix. 10), though certainly in doing so it indicates the final subjugation of the enemies as a turning-point." To avoid Prof. Beet's error, may not Prof. Wellhausen be justified in boldly rendering (as Dr. Furness represents him), ". . . Sit Thou at My right hand, that I may make Thy foes Thy footstool"? On the historical reference of the passage this is what we are told in the note: "Cf. Zech. vi. 13, in the Greek Bible, 'And he (Zerubbabel) shall rule upon the throne, and he (Joshua) shall be priest on his right hand.'" In a subsequent note, however, we hear that "Melchizedek resembled the founder

of the Hasmonean priestly dynasty (167 B.C.)," and that "the warlike character here ascribed to the Messiah also suits the Maccabees, who believed themselves to be fulfilling Messianic prophecy." "Messianic and Maccabean were identical; it was not until a later date that they became separated." Certainly here is material for thought. But could not the annotator have given a little more aid to the process of assimilation? For it is not so very long since the Maccabean date of the psalm was represented as a theological heresy. How came a friend of the Maccabees to use such strange expressions? And if the Psalm is Maccabean, what is the precise weight attached by the annotator to the reference to Zechariah vi. 13. It would be useless to blame Prof. Wellhausen, whose style so admirably represents the mind of the writer—keen, clear, and averse to all illusions. With a hearty recommendation of the very useful and fact-full appendix on the Music of the Ancient Hebrews, with its helpful illustrations, I take my leave, at present, of this great contribution to the better understanding of the Psalter.

The translation of Judges is the work of Prof. G. F. Moore, of Andover Theological Seminary. I shall treat it in the same manner as the translation of the Psalter, but with much less fulness. All special students of the Old Testament know the commentary on Judges which the present translation may be said to represent, and which carries the study of this important collection of Hebrew traditions a stage forward. To criticise the views here taken of the composition of the book and of difficult passages of the text would carry me too far; indeed it would be still more uncalled for than in the case of the Psalter because the Hebrew edition of the text is not yet published, whereas that of the text of the Psalter has long been in our hands. Suffice it to say that I admire the skill with which the most necessary information on the origin of the book is here

communicated to the English reader, and the fulness and yet conciseness of the notes. As to the colours which indicate the sources of the existing composite work, I can by no means sympathize with the laughers who have begun to show themselves. If the public are to be enabled to see what analytic criticism comes to, such a plan as Dr. Haupt has devised, and Prof. Moore and others have endeavoured to carry out, was indispensable. But certainly a parallel series of semi-popular handbooks is equally necessary to assist the ordinary reader, and to prevent the ordinary reviewer from falling into errors which but for ignorance would be unpardonable.

As to the style of the translation, it must, I think, be admitted that upon the whole it suits the subject. I have not the same feeling of enjoyment as I read it that I have when I read or say the Psalms of Dr. Furness. Now and then I put a query to the words used. But is not this a worthy rendering of a grand passage? (I give the parallel lines, partly because here at least there is no doubt as to the division.)

28. "Through the window peered and . . .  
The mother of Sisera through the lattice:  
'Why are his chariots so long in coming?  
Why tarries the trampling of his horses?'
29. The wisest of her princesses reply,  
Yea, she answers her words herself:
30. 'They must be finding, dividing the spoil,  
A wench or two for each man,  
Booty of dyed stuffs for Sisera,  
A piece of embroidery or two for the neck of . . .'
31. So perish Thine enemies all, O Jehovah!  
But be Thy friends as the sun when he rises in power."

As a specimen of fine prose I would gladly quote the story of Jephthah's daughter (Judges xi. 54-40), but it may be enough to invite the reader to get the book, and turn to the passage at once.

On one point Prof. Wellhausen and Prof. Moore deserve equal commendation. They are not afraid to say upon occasion that they can neither translate a passage, nor, when corrupt, suggest a satisfactory way of healing the corruption. Hence the dots which interfere with the flow of the Song of Deborah. Perhaps further consideration may somewhat diminish the number of these dots in future editions. It is also an excellent practice to place sometimes a small ? by a doubtful word. Altogether the task of the contributors has been no easy one. The rules of the editor were elaborate and stringent, so elaborate and so stringent that with a less zealous editor success would have been still harder to attain. And I am well assured that no one will speak more modestly of the work thus far completed than the editor. A turning-point in Bible study had, he felt, arrived, and, having the strength and ability for the task of registering results and popularizing critical study, he set himself to perform it. And though finality in such enterprises is hopeless, let us trust that for some time to come serious students of the Old Testament may continue to draw from this abundant source of knowledge.

T. K. CHEYNE.

## DIFFICULT PASSAGES IN ROMANS.

### III. JUSTIFICATION THROUGH FAITH.

As St. Paul turns towards his readers at Rome, his thoughts assume the form of a desire to preach to them the Gospel. This desire he justifies, in view of any shame which might be evoked by the grandeur of Rome and the lowliness of a word spoken by a stranger, by a description of the Gospel. *It is a power of God*, i.e. a manifestation, and thus in some sense a concrete em-

bodiment of His ability to produce results. The good news of salvation is a channel through which the power of God operates. So 1 Corinthians i. 18: "The word of the cross . . . is, to us who are being saved, a power of God." Similarly in v. 24 we read of "Christ, God's power and God's wisdom." For in the personality of "Christ crucified" is revealed a power and wisdom which we recognise as divine. The devotees of a false teacher said of him, as we read in Acts viii. 10, "This man is the power of God which is called (*i.e.* recognised as) great." St. Paul asserts that in the Gospel which he preaches is present and active a superhuman and infinite power.

This assertion is abundantly proved and illustrated by the effects of the Gospel. So Acts xi. 20f.: "They were speaking to the Greeks, announcing as good news the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them; and a great number, who believed, turned to the Lord."

The words *for salvation* describe the tendency and purpose of this manifestation of divine power, *viz.* rescue of the perishing. From what peril or calamity the hearers of the Gospel are to be rescued, St. Paul goes on to say, as already expounded, in chapters i. 18–iii. 20, where he convicts both Jews and Greeks that they are all under sin and brings all the world silent and guilty before the bar of God.

The words following, in the dative of advantage, *for everyone that believeth*, describe the persons in whose behalf the power of God manifested in the Gospel is put forth. In an address recorded in Acts xiii. 39 the Apostle asserts that in those that believe this purpose is attained: "everyone that believeth is justified from all things." But in the passage before us he merely states the aim of the Gospel. An important parallel, from a later epistle, is found in Ephesians i. 18f.: "that

ye may know . . . what is the surpassing greatness of His power towards us that believe."

The words *Jew first and Greek*, found again in chapter ii. 9, 10, were expounded in my last paper. Even in the preliminary statement of the Gospel now under consideration, the all-important division of mankind caused by the gift of the written law to Israel only was already, as always, in the writer's thought. The contrast of Jews and Greeks is a conspicuous feature of the second group of St. Paul's letters, occurring five times in Romans, four times in 1 Corinthians, and once in Galatians. In his other letters it is found only in Colossians iii. 11. The same phrase is found, in reference to the work of St. Paul, five times in the Book of Acts. The same contrast, but not the same phrase, is conspicuous in Ephesians ii. 11-22. It is a sure mark of the early date, and therefore an indication of the genuineness, of this epistle.

The commission in Luke xxiv. 47 was to preach repentance and forgiveness of sins to all the nations, beginning at Jerusalem. And this was the order actually followed. The Gospel was first preached, on the day of Pentecost, to Jews at Jerusalem; afterwards to the Gentiles, in Palestine and elsewhere. And in his apostolic journeys, wherever there were Jews, St. Paul went *first* to them.

Verse 17 explains how the Gospel is, to all who believe, a power of God for salvation, viz. because a *righteousness of God in it is revealed from faith and for faith*. And this revelation is in harmony, (*according as it is written*,) with words spoken by the prophet Habakkuk, who, in view of coming calamity, announces that "*the righteous man by faith will live*." The life thus promised involves salvation. The man who will obtain it is described as righteous and as a man of faith.

The important statement in chapter i. 17 is repeated in almost the same words in chapter iii. 21 f. After asserting that in the Gospel there takes place a revelation of the righteousness of God, St. Paul asserts in verse 18 that another revelation, viz. of divine anger, is also taking place. This solemn revelation he expounds in chapters i. 18—iii. 20, and concludes by saying that through law comes knowledge of sin. At this point he returns to the position taken up in chapter i. 17, and describes further the revelation of the righteousness of God. This remarkable repetition points clearly to the words now before us as the fundamental theme of the epistle. And this is confirmed by the entire argument following.

The most conspicuous feature of the verses before us is the phrase *righteousness of God*, thrown prominently forward in chapter i. 17, found also in chapter iii. 21, and again with emphatic repetition in verse 22. On its interpretation depends the sense of the whole passage, and in no small part the scope of the epistle.

The word *righteous* (or *right*) and its Hebrew and Greek equivalents denote always agreement with a standard with which the object so described must be compared. We have in Leviticus xix. 36 righteous weights and measures; in Matthew xx. 4, Colossians iv. 1, righteous wages; in Matthew i. 19, Luke i. 6, righteous men; in Romans ii. 5, Acts iv. 19, John vii. 24, righteous conduct and judgment; and in 2 Timothy iv. 8 God is called "the righteous Judge." Comparison and agreement imply a judge who makes the comparison and observes and declares the agreement. Hence the expressions "righteous before God," and "right in his own eyes." Whenever we use the word *righteous* of our fellowmen, we set up ourselves as their judge and take as our standard of comparison the principles of right

and wrong acknowledged by all. When we speak of God as righteous, *e.g.* "Himself righteous" in chapter iii. 26, we assert that with these principles His action corresponds.

It was ever present to the thought of Israel that in the written law God had marked out a path along which He would have His servants go, and that obedience would be followed by blessing and disobedience by punishment. Consequently, to the Jew, that man is righteous who walks in the path marked out by God, and who therefore enjoys the favour of God and will obtain the blessings promised to those who obey Him. The condition of such a man was *righteousness*.

The chief difficulty of the passages before us is the precise meaning of the genitive case, "*righteousness of God.*" In chapter iii. 5, these words denote evidently an attribute of God. For "God's righteousness" is contrasted with our "unrighteousness"; and the apostle asks, "is God unrighteous who inflicts His wrath?" The same phrase has the same meaning twice in verses 25, 26: "for a demonstration of His righteousness." For the righteousness to be demonstrated is expounded in the words following, "that He may be Himself righteous and a justifier (*i.e.* one making righteous) of him who has faith in Jesus." God is righteous in the sense that He administers His kingdom impartially in accordance with His own laws, these being in harmony with the essential principles underlying the moral judgments of men.

This simple meaning of the phrase *righteousness of God* will not satisfy the conditions of the passage before us. For the harmony of God's action with the moral law was revealed, not in the Gospel, but long before. It was a most conspicuous element of the revelation embodied in the Old Testament; and was not specially conspicuous in the teaching of Christ. Moreover no revelation of the

justice of God would explain, as Romans i. 17 is meant to explain, the saving power of the Gospel. Nor does God's attribute of righteousness stand in any definite relation to man's faith, as is stated with emphatic repetition in Romans i. 16, 17, iii. 21, 22: and in no sense can it be said, as in chapter iii. 21, to be manifested "apart from law." Again, the words quoted from Habakkuk, "the righteous man by faith shall live," say nothing whatever about a revelation of God's righteousness. They speak only of a righteous man's escape by faith from impending evil. The words before us cannot possibly have the meaning which the context requires us to give to the same phrase in Romans iii. 5, 25, 26. We are therefore compelled to give to the same words in another part of the same chapter an altogether different meaning.

The phrase we are considering meets us again later in the epistle. In Romans ix. 30, 31 we read, in a summary of St. Paul's exposition of the Gospel, that "Gentiles, the men who were not pursuing righteousness, have obtained righteousness, even the righteousness which is by faith. But Israel, while pursuing a law of righteousness, has not attained to such law." This failure, St. Paul explains in chapter x. 3 by saying that "not knowing the righteousness of God, and seeking to set up their own, to the righteousness of God they have not submitted." Here we have, with conspicuous repetition, the phrase before us. It cannot mean God's attribute of righteousness. For ignorance of this righteousness would not explain Israel's rejection of the Gospel of Christ; nor would this rejection be described as a refusal to submit to the righteousness of God, or accounted for by an attempt to set up their own righteousness. We notice also that this failure to attain righteousness is due (see Romans ix. 32) to a wrong way of seeking it, viz. by works instead of by faith.

An explanation of the whole may be found in Philip-

pians iii. 9, a close parallel to the passage just considered. St. Paul writes, "in order that I may gain Christ and be found in Him, not having a righteousness of my own, viz. that which is from law, but that which is through belief of Christ, the righteousness which is from God on the condition of faith." The words "not having a righteousness of my own" are a marked contrast to "seeking to set up their own righteousness" in Romans x. 3. And the further description "that which is from law" reproduces exactly "the righteousness which is from law" in Romans x. 5. The contrasted phrase, "the righteousness which is from God on the condition of faith" is evidently a parallel to the ignored "righteousness of God" and "the righteousness from faith" in Romans x. 3, 6.

Reading together all these passages, and noticing that all refer to the Gospel announced by Christ on the condition of faith, accepted by St. Paul but rejected by most Jews, it is impossible to doubt that the phrase *righteousness of God* in Romans i. 17, iii. 21, 22 is equivalent to "the righteousness from faith" mentioned in Romans x. 6, and to "the righteousness from God on the condition of faith" in Philippians iii. 9. If so, the genitive of *God* describes the source of this righteousness, as given by God, in contrast to a righteousness earned by human effort. Just so, in Philippians iv. 7 "the peace of God" is a peace which God gives: and in John xiv. 27 Christ says, "My peace I give to you." The righteousness of God, in Romans i. 17, iii. 21, 22, x. 3 is a conformity with a divinely-erected standard which God requires as a condition of His favour and of the blessings He waits to bestow, a conformity which is also His gift. This divinely-given conformity, the only condition of salvation which sinners can fulfil, God made known and gave by announcing salvation for all who believe. The same meaning is the easiest explanation of the same phrase in 2 Corinthians v. 21:

"Him who knew no sin, on our behalf He made to be sin in order that we may become a *righteousness of God* in Him."

This exposition finds decisive confirmation in the verses following the second of the two passages I am now expounding. In Romans iii. 24 we have the cognate verb *being-justified*; and in verse 26 God's purpose in setting forth Christ as a propitiation is said to be "in order that He may be Himself *just* (or *righteous*) and a *justifier* (*δικαιοῦντα*) of him that has faith in Jesus." In verse 28, St. Paul sums up his teaching by saying, "for we reckon that a man is *justified* by faith apart from works of law"; and again, in verse 30, "who will *justify* circumcision by faith and uncircumcision through faith." Indisputably this justification through faith apart from works of law is equivalent to "righteousness of God through faith, apart from law," in verses 21, 22.

It is equally certain that the Hebrew and Greek equivalents of the word *justify* in the English Bible denote, not to make actually righteous, but to reckon, or declare, or treat a man as righteous. So Deuteronomy xxv. 1, "thou shalt justify the righteous and condemn the wicked"; Proverbs xvii. 15, "he that justifieth the wicked and he that condemneth the righteous, both of them alike are an abomination to Jehovah." Apart from the phrase "justified through faith," a phrase used only by St. Paul, the word *justify* is several times found in the New Testament, always in this forensic sense. So Matthew xii. 37, "by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned"; a close parallel to Romans ii. 13, "not the hearers of law are righteous before God, but the doers of law shall be justified." Similarly, in Luke x. 29, xvi. 15, we find men who justify themselves. This can only mean that they present themselves as just in the subjective view of themselves or others.

The above interpretation is confirmed by the constant contrast of the words *justify* and *condemn*. For the latter denotes indisputably, not to make a man actually wicked, but to treat him as such.

Another equivalent for the phrases "righteousness of God through faith" and "justified through faith" is the phrase "faith reckoned for righteousness" in Romans iv. 3, 5, 9, 23, 24, where St. Paul illustrates his own fundamental doctrine by comparison with the case of Abraham. This phrase evidently denotes, not an impartation of actual moral conformity with the law, which could not be described as a "reckoning," but a forensic reception of a man as righteous on the ground of his faith. Throughout the whole of Romans iv. we have no reference to an inward moral change of Abraham, but only to a changed relation to God.

That these two phrases, "justified through faith" and "faith reckoned for righteousness," denoting evidently not inherent but only forensic righteousness, are used by St. Paul as equivalents of his phrase "righteousness of God through faith," affords strong presumption that this last phrase also denotes only this forensic righteousness. And this is confirmed by the fact that, while discussing this righteousness or justification through faith, St. Paul says nothing about inward conformity to the moral law. Chapters iii. 21-v. 21 contain no moral teaching. This is reserved for chapters vi.-viii. And here other phraseology takes the place of the three phrases noticed above.

It may be objected that a mere forensic righteousness is of no avail. But in the teaching of St. Paul righteousness through faith does not stand alone. The justified ones are adopted into the family of God as His sons, and receive the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Adoption, who becomes in them the animating principle of a new life of unreserved devotion to God, like that of Christ. But when St. Paul expounds

these all-important moral results of faith, he uses other modes of speech.

The grammatical construction of the words *believe* and *faith* deserves attention. With the verb *believe*, both the person whose word is believed, and the word believed, are put, in Greek, in the dative. So Romans iv. 3, "Abraham believed God," ἐπίστευσεν Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Θεῷ: 2 Timothy i. 12, οἶδα ᾧ πεπίστευκα: also Romans x. 16, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν; John iv. 50, ἐπίστευσεν . . . τῷ λόγῳ. (John xi. 26 is an easily explained exception. The accusative denotes the extent to which Martha's faith was to go.) When the verb rendered *believe* is replaced by a substantive, the dative is replaced by a genitive both for the person whose word is believed and for the word believed. This explains the phrase πίστεως Ἰσ. Χρ. in Romans iii. 22, 26, Galatians ii. 16 twice, 20. Christ is here the person whose word is believed. This phrase is very difficult to render into English, especially if we use the word *faith* as a rendering of πίστις. The words "faith of Jesus Christ" found in the A.V. of the above passages convey no sense to English ears. The phrase "faith in Jesus Christ," used by the Revisers, brings in an idea foreign to the original and not frequent with St. Paul. For it suggests the Hebrew form "בְּאֵמֶן יֵשׁוּעַ", whereas the Greek phrase used by St. Paul suggests the form "ἐν πίστει Ἰησοῦ". The former is used only where belief involves trust, and therefore makes this conspicuous. Now, although indisputably, as matter of fact, the faith which justifies involves trust, the Greek words used by St. Paul do not suggest this. A better English rendering is to reject the word *faith* and use as a substantival counterpart to the verb *believe* the cognate substantive *belief*. We can then correctly and suitably translate "through belief of Jesus Christ."

The object-matter of justifying faith is stated in Philip-  
pians i. 27, τῇ πίστει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου; and in 2 Thessalonians

ii. 13, *πίστει ἀληθείας*. This last both A.V. and R.V. render "belief of the truth." The other passage is rendered in both versions, much less intelligibly, "the faith of the Gospel."

The object-matter of justifying faith, *i.e.* the word to be believed, is the good news of salvation announced by Christ. This we accept in reliance upon Him. For we know that His word cannot fail. This faith, God reckons for righteousness, *i.e.* as fulfilment of the appointed condition of His favour. They who believe are therefore justified, *i.e.* accepted by the great Judge as righteous. And this righteousness is described as a "righteousness of God," in contrast to any righteousness which man might conceivably earn by his obedience to the law of Moses or the law written in the heart, because it is a gift of the undeserved favour of God.

This righteousness is "apart from law." For it is independent of the great principle which underlies all law, Do this and live. So we read in Romans x. 5, "Moses writeth that he who hath done the righteousness which is from law shall live in it." To this righteousness through faith, "witness is borne by the Law and the Prophets." Of the latter, we find in Romans i. 17 an example from Habakkuk; and, of the former, an example in chapter iv. from the case of Abraham.

Notice in Romans i. 17 the present tense, "a righteousness of God is *being-revealed*," and in chapter iii. 21 the perfect tense, "a righteousness of God *has-been-manifested*." The one describes a revelation now going on, the other a manifestation which has already taken place with abiding results. This change of tense corresponds with the use in the New Testament of the verbs rendered respectively *revealed* and *manifested*. The word *φανερώω*, from *φανερός* and *φαίνω*, denotes an objective setting forth before the eyes of others, whether or not the object be actually seen

by them. The word ἀποκαλύπτω is used only for that which enters into the subjective consciousness of a beholder. It denotes always an inner unveiling. So Matthew xi. 25, "Thou hast revealed them to babes"; and verse 27, "neither does anyone know the Father except the Son and he to whomever the Son is minded to *reveal* Him." To St. Peter, who has just made his noble confession, as recorded in Matthew xvi. 17, Christ says, "flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee but my Father in heaven." Of a similar inward revelation we read in 1 Corinthians ii. 10, "to us God hath revealed them through the Spirit." Of such inward revelation occurring during a Christian gathering, we read in 1 Corinthians xiv. 30: "if to another it be revealed (*i.e.* a revelation be given) while sitting." In Galatians i. 16 St. Paul says, "it pleased God . . . to reveal His Son in me." And in Ephesians iii. 5, he speaks of the mystery of the Gospel as having been "revealed to His holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit."

On the other hand, the word φανερώω is used in passages almost identical with the above. Indeed the same event may be described either as a manifestation or a revelation, according as it is looked upon as a public setting forth or as an inward communication of truth resulting from it. The appearance of Christ at the great day is called a manifestation: for it will be outward and conspicuous. It is also called a revelation: for it will at once enter into the inner consciousness of all.

The above distinction explains the change of tense between Romans i. 17 and iii. 21. By the historic announcement of the Gospel there *has been* once for all *manifested*, *i.e.* set before the eyes of men, a righteousness of God. On the other hand, in the Gospel, there takes place day by day, as each one ventures to believe, an unveiling of a righteousness which God gives, *i.e.* a condition in which His favour is enjoyed. This distinction is con-

firmed by the mention of the Spirit in 1 Corinthians ii. 10 and Ephesians iii. 5, already quoted, as the Agent of revelation.

We may now paraphrase the two passages before us, as follows. St. Paul is eager to announce at Rome good news. For he is not ashamed of the good news. For it is an instrument and manifestation of God's power, put forth in order to save men, for the benefit of everyone who believes, Jew first and also Greek. This he explains by saying that a righteousness of God, *i.e.* a conformity with a divinely-appointed condition of His favour and of the blessings he waits to bestow is day by day, as one after another believes, revealed in the Gospel, a revelation derived from faith as its condition and designed to lead to a life of faith. This righteousness from faith is in harmony with a prophecy of Habakkuk, who, foreseeing a time of distress, asserts that the righteous man, by his faith, will survive.

Again, after proving at length the need for this salvation and asserting that the law given to Israel convicts the whole world of sin, St. Paul goes on to say that now, apart from law, which promises blessing only to those who obey it, a conformity with law which is God's gift has been placed visibly and conspicuously before the eyes of men. To this righteousness, testimony is borne day by day, as men read them, by the ancient Scriptures. It is a righteousness given by God, through belief of the words of Christ, for all who believe.

It is worthy of note that the phrase *justified through faith* is used in the New Testament only by St. Paul, the apostle who sat at the feet of Gamaliel, an "honoured teacher of law." It is found, outside his letters, only in Acts xiii. 39, where, by a most important coincidence, we have an address from his lips. To the legal training and disposition of the great apostle of the Gentiles, we owe this important

mode of stating the Gospel of Christ. In another paper I shall show that to the same apostle we owe a most important mode of stating the doctrine of the Atonement in its bearing on the righteousness and law of God.

To him we owe also important analogies between the doctrine of justification through faith and various elements of teaching in the Old Testament. To these last St. Paul does not appeal as proofs of his doctrine; which rests securely, as we read in Galatians i. 11, 12, on the word of Christ. But he quotes Habakkuk ii. 4, Genesis xv. 6, Psalm xxxii. 1 f., in order to show the deep harmony, amid many conspicuous differences, between the earlier preparatory revelations given to Israel and the supreme and final revelation given in Christ.

In this paper, we have studied St. Paul's formal statement of the first fundamental doctrine of the Gospel as understood by him, viz. justification through faith. In my next, I shall discuss the second great doctrine, viz. justification through the death of Christ.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

### THE INCARNATION AND CULTURE.

"Thou art fairer than the children of men; grace is poured into thy lips."—*Ps. xlv. 2.*

OUR theme is the Incarnation and Culture. And if our last subject—the Incarnation and Dogma—had a somewhat austere and controversial sound, this may seem perhaps a little nerveless and sentimental.

Culture is a phrase which has much to answer for. It developed, not long ago, a manner of thinking and speaking that was distinctly morbid and womanish—not womanly at all, but womanish—and a cant as offensive as any with which the world ever reproached religion; and it has often

allowed itself to be made the stalking horse for an attack, not only on faith but morals, and not only on morals but on the energy and freshness, the vigorous and full life, which make our common manhood.

All the more need there is for religion to protest against this abuse of a useful idea. All the more obligation to set a true notion of culture against the false, and to show that religion is the friend of whatsoever things are lovely and praiseworthy, as well as honest and virtuous.

What then do we mean when we speak of culture? Certainly we ought to mean that well-balanced training of our various faculties, not only those by which we subsist, but all of them, which makes our nature to resemble a well-tilled field, or a carefully tended garden, in which no portion is neglected, but all contribute duly to the general result. Such a garden, such an intellect also, need not of necessity be the most fertile, but they are always delightful, with the charm of harmony, balance and proportion.

Men there have been of prodigious gifts who thought of and cared for nothing beyond the range of their own visible and concrete advantage. Thus Napoleon strove in vain to conceal his contempt of art and letters. The enormous development in him of whatever aided his violence and treachery left him disproportioned: it is not the moralist only who discerns that he was a monster. He was a great but not a cultured man. Such men resemble a field which one dense tree so completely overshadows that no blossom expands and no fruits ripen under its baleful shade.

There have been others, specialists, who so devoted themselves to one study as not only to neglect but even to ravage and spoil their other faculties. Thus, in the absorbing pursuit of one science, Darwin quite lost his early love of poetry and music, and much also of his early sense of the mysteries which science cannot fathom, "the truths which never can be proved."

Such men are like the owners of collieries, who drive a shaft into their field and bring up the most valuable stores, but kill the grass and flowers with refuse and shard, and blot out the fair face of heaven with the black smoke of their machinery.

We now understand our theme. The culture of the mind, as of the soil, is a matter not of its original fertility or buried treasure, but of the careful and proportionate development of its resources : it is a question of symmetry rather than of force.

At once, therefore, we discover that a sickly and languishing existence, heavy with odours, pallid with indulgence, looking with contempt in the name of culture upon all noble energies and high enthusiasms, lisping its unmanly prattle about art for art's sake and independent of morality, is utterly remote from even that very "culture" whose name it usurps, because the balance of our faculties, the true proportion of our interests is hopelessly lost in this drugged and idle sentimentalism and dilettantism.

Charles the First brought together the finest gallery of pictures that ever was collected in England, and Cromwell, hard pressed for money, sold them. But this is not enough to prove that Charles was even the more cultivated man, not to say the greater man, of the two. It may be, it is at least conceivable that Cromwell parted with these irreparable treasures, not because he valued them less, but because he valued other treasures more, even the rights of freeborn Englishmen. And in any mere measuring of endowment this susceptibility is quite as precious as the other.

Who would not rather, as a matter of mere sensibility, be dull to a harmony of colours than to a heroic aspiration? Who, apart from all question of eternal interests, would not much rather fail to appreciate a picture or a musical movement than the strength of soul which, knowing all

things that should come upon Him, said, "If ye seek Me, let these go their way"?

And if He is my Saviour, if the love of me was in His heart when He stood unappalled under the shadow of the cross, then to be insensible to His love is not only wicked and desperately foolish, it is, like all failure in delicate perception, barbarous as well.

It is a safe assertion that Christ has done more for the beauty of humanity, as well as for its redemption, than all other forces put together; and even they who set up culture as a rival force in opposition to religion are vastly more indebted to Bethlehem than to Athens or Rome for the very gifts which they would turn against the Giver.

A notion is abroad that because we cannot carve marble as well as the Greeks, and the disinterred villas of a second-rate Roman watering-place are more tastefully decorated than the palaces of our kings, therefore the old times were altogether, and on the whole, more cultivated than our own. But what was the condition of decent women in ancient Greece? What did the houses—the flats—of even the free poor in imperial Rome resemble? What were the concrete realities of a Roman banquet, and how did the guests protract their feast until the servants fainted for hunger, and were sentenced to death for fainting? What did the Roman theatre resemble? By what methods, for example, was the play of Semele made realistic?

It is yet more important to remember that the ancient culture had no element of durability: it toppled over because it was top-heavy, because all its gifts were lavished upon a favoured few, and the bulk of the populations—the armies of white slaves—had no interest in its maintenance, enjoying neither part nor lot in it. The French revolutionists used to talk loud about the ancient demo-

cracies and their freedom. There existed no such things. There was only the freedom of the slave-driver, a democracy which planted its feet upon the necks of the rank and file. It perished because it was too rotten to withstand the blows of the barbarians, and in its overthrow everything went down except the faith. It was not Christ's doing, it was despite His work that so much beauty and civilization shared the universal ruin—some of it, perhaps, for ever.

In the dust of that prodigious downfall religion itself was for awhile darkened and befouled. But when the obscurity began to clear away, there was seen, high over the new world, the figure of our Lord, with hands uplifted in blessing as when He ascended, dispensing hope and compassion, and mutual sympathy and kindness, all which things are at the foundation of culture just as truly as of religion. In the worst days of the papacy this much of the Christian leaven was still working, that the Church offered a maintenance and a support to the lowliest who showed capacity and promise; and its great offices were not seldom filled by men of the humblest origin. It was in the Church of Christ, in the East and the West alike, that the true doctrine of the equality of man was born, a doctrine which made war upon slavery for ages, and ended by destroying it; the doctrine which gives to-day to every working-man a right, first asserted in the schools of the Church, to a share in all the knowledge and culture of his age.

It was in the libraries of churchmen, as in an ark, that all the literature of Greece and Rome floated across the deluge of the Dark Ages. From the Church came forth again music, architecture, and painting, and to this day their grandest triumphs are inspired by her.

And why? Because her Blessed Founder had so spoken and so lived as made it impossible for Priest or Puritan

permanently to check the influences, refining quite as truly as consecrating, which He brought with Him.

Other teachers might scorn the body : Jesus, moved with compassion, healed their sick, and made His work upon degraded and diseased tissue to be a sort of sacrament of His work upon souls, more diseased and degraded still.

Other teachers might speak scornfully of our little secular necessities ; but Jesus said, " Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things," and with the glories of the resurrection upon His brow said, " Come and dine," and Himself partook of a broiled fish and a honey-comb.

With this elevating knowledge that Jesus despised nothing human, came the sense, more elevating still, that His own taking of flesh and blood had for ever consecrated human nature, and so repealed the Fall that we must count no man common. In the vision of Peter, when Cornelius awaited him, there is a marvellous expression of this change of view. All sorts of beasts and creeping things were there. To the cold eye of the ceremonial Hebrew they were all alike unclean ; and to such a view no real culture with its world-wide interests was even possible. But God taught him to call no man common or unclean ; and the manner in which He taught him this of man proclaimed the same of bird, and beast, and reptile as well, and was the charter of modern science and of modern art.

I say we owe everything to Jesus.

And now is it not memorable, and even an evidence of the faith, that when we come to ask whether His own teaching bears out this view of how His people should regard the world, we find it richer in allusions to nature and human life, more closely attentive, especially to the little things of every day, than any other ethical and moral teaching in the world ?

The salt and its savour, the city on a hill, the lamp on the lampstand, the thief who digs through an earthen wall and steals, the moth and rust, the sun and rain, which serve both the evil and the good, the birds of the air, which sow not nor spin, the beautiful clothing of the grass of the field, the contempt of dogs and swine for precious things, the good tree and the bad, grapes and figs, and thorns and thistles, the storm and sudden floods which beat upon the house ill-built or well—all these He spoke of in one discourse. And the fishes and the net, the vine and the branches, the smallest seed growing into the greatest of herbs and becoming a tree, and the fowls in its branches, and two sparrows sold for a farthing, and the reed shaken in the wind, and the sultry weather which follows when the wind comes up from southern deserts, and the pride of the strong man armed, and the blind man leading the blind, and the poor woman's joy when she has found her money, and the wisdom which comes to the Prodigal with hunger, and the failure then of his false friends to give him help, and the love of his outraged father, and the sullenness of his discontented brother, and the lowliness of "this little child," whose angel with unblenching eyes beholds alway the face of God, and the submission of an overmastered king, and the image of Cæsar on the coin, and the platter half clean, and the sepulchre with its fair exterior and its dreadful secrets, and the hen caring for her chickens—you can go on for an hour.

Now the eye which clearly sees and values all this, while intent on far higher things, is the eye of a supreme culture.

But say, now, what power shall diffuse such interests far and wide, among the toil-worn, anxious, weary children of these latter days?

Only His, who has blended such finer thoughts with His

Divine care of our everyday life and struggles; only our sense of brotherhood with Him, the Man of Sorrows, whose heavy cares never darkened His vision, who regards this world as the work of our heavenly Father, and bids us find a pledge of His care for us in His clothing the lily of the field (as Jesus well discerned) with a fairer robe than that of Solomon in all his glory.

G. A. DERRY.

## THE ARTICLES OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.

### VI. "THE THIRD DAY HE ROSE AGAIN."

*Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.*      The third day He rose again  
from the dead.

*Rom.* : τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ νεκρῶν. *Aqu., Afr.* : Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis. *Jerus.* : ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. *Antioch.* : Et tertia die resurrexit secundum scripturas.

Proof of this sentence would be proof of the whole Christian faith, for that which St. Paul wrote in the name of all the Apostles still holds good: "If Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God." And again: "And if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins. Then they also which are fallen asleep in Christ are perished. If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable." It would avoid much prolixity and save a great deal of strength for theological and clerical work, if every theologian were to read 1 Corinthians xv. at least once every year, and honestly examine himself whether he can joyfully take part in the triumphant words: "But now is Christ risen from the dead and become the firstfruits of them that slept"; or whether he must agree with those who are so much im-

pressed by the mocking of the heathen and the lies of the Jews<sup>1</sup> that they say, in spite of their Christian name, "There is no resurrection of the dead." If this were to take place, we should be spared the sight of an odious and absurd conflict about the Creed within the Church. It is indeed pitiful to see how men, who are otherwise learned theologians, and who wish to be teachers of Christianity, shirk the extremely simple Yes or No, and the unavoidable consequences of either answer. It matters little whether we pass by the empty grave of Jesus silently, or—whether we do so with many high-sounding words; whether we borrow from the heathen Celsus or the Jew Spinoza. With reference to the resurrection of Christ and of Christians St. Paul has already spoken, in the words of an Attic comedian, of the pernicious influence on the character of ill-chosen company (1 Cor. 15. 33). But the habit of satisfying oneself with equivocal answers to the Apostle Paul's unequivocal "either"—"or," and to this article of our Creed, is far more pernicious to the character than intercourse, which is often very instructive, with heathen and with Jews.

## VII.

Ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad	Ascended into heaven, sitteth
dexteram Dei, Patris omnipotentis.	at the right hand of God, the
	Father Almighty.

*Rom.*: ἀναβάνα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός. *Aqu.*: Ascendit in coelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris.—*Afric.*: Ascendit in coelum, sedet ad dexteram Patris. *Jerus.*: καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρός. *Antioch.*: Et ascendit in coelos.

The importance of the Ascension of Jesus cannot be compared with that of His Resurrection. The Resurrection is the foundation of the new world for which we hope; the Ascension is only the passage of the Risen One from

<sup>1</sup> Acts 17. 32 on the one side, and Matthew 28. 15 on the other.

this world to that which is above. Nevertheless we can in no wise spare the mention of it in the Creed. It is an inalienable truth for the faith of the Christian that the Risen Lord lives in heavenly communion with His and our Father, and that He takes an active part in the working of the power as well as of the grace of God in this world. Whole pages might be filled with New Testament quotations from the sayings of Jesus in the Gospels on to the sayings of the same Jesus in the Revelation of St. John, if it were necessary to prove that Christianity had never existed without this belief. It is also plain that, according to the faith of Christians, the translation of Jesus, who once walked on the highways of Palestine and was laid in the grave near Jerusalem, to His present undoubted position and activity could never be described as anything but an exaltation,<sup>1</sup> a going hence to God,<sup>2</sup> as an ascent, as being raised up into heaven.<sup>3</sup> If this exaltation of Jesus to the right hand of God is sometimes referred to in connection with the Resurrection, though no word is used<sup>4</sup> which we can translate by Ascension, that does not in the least alter the fact that the translation of Jesus to the other world must be regarded as an event independent of the Resurrection. Neither is this argument weakened by the fact that in other passages sitting at the right hand of God is spoken of as the immediate result of the Resurrection.<sup>5</sup> We have only to remind ourselves of the other fact that the first Christian generation, the whole circle of the personal disciples of Jesus, both men and women, were

<sup>1</sup> John 3. 14; 8. 28; 13. 32, 34 (it is well known that these passages are interpreted differently); Acts 2. 32; 5. 31; Phil. 2. 9; Heb. 7. 26.

<sup>2</sup> John 7. 33 f.; 8. 22; 13. 33-36; 16. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Luke 9. 51; Acts 1. 2, 11, 22; 1 Tim. 3. 16; John 6. 62; 20. 17; Acts 2. 34; Eph. 4. 8-10.

<sup>4</sup> Eph. 1. 20; 2. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Rom. 8. 34; Col. 3. 1. In Phil. 2. 9; Heb. 1. 3, even the Resurrection is passed over.

firmly convinced that their Lord, after His Resurrection, held intercourse with them during many days in a manner which was perceptible to their aroused senses.<sup>1</sup> If this intercourse has now come to an end, and has made way for another mode of communication by which those who believe in Him may call on their King and High Priest, who is exalted at the right hand of God, this is only to say, without putting it into words, that He who has risen has ascended up to heaven after His Resurrection. It was as unnecessary for the Apostles to describe the historical event of His Ascension, as such, as it was for them to relate the history of the Birth of Jesus. Nevertheless, both events have been related. According to St. Luke's account,<sup>2</sup> it took place just as Jesus had said it would, after His Resurrection (John 20. 17), and, as He had already earlier set it before His disciples, as an event which would be visible to them (John 6. 62). The last farewell Jesus took of His disciples differed in manner from that in which He had vanished out of their sight on previous occasions. By this lifting up from the earth, and this disappearance in the clouds which floated upwards, He made clear to them by deed that which He had already foretold about the Risen One. From one fixed period of time till another, which the Father had kept in His own power, He would no longer walk with them on earth as their Teacher and Prophet, but would watch over them and work for them in heaven as their King and High Priest. As long as Christendom keeps Easter "in sincerity and truth" (1 Cor. 5. 8), so long will Christendom also keep Ascensiontide.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. 15. 5-7; Matt. 28. 9-16; John 20. 26; 21. 1; Acts 1. 8; 10. 41; 13. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Acts 1. 9. Nothing can be said here on the text and meaning of Luke 24. 51.

VIII.

Inde venturus est, judicare      From thence He shall come to  
vivos et mortuos.                      judge the quick and the dead.

*Rom.*: ὁθεν ἔρχεται κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. *Aqu., Afric.*: like us, only occasionally with *unde* for *inde*, and *venturus* without *est*. *Jerus.*: καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. *Antioch.*: Et iterum veniet, judicare vivos et mortuos.

There is no other article of the Creed which we can trace back as far as this in an almost unaltered form.<sup>1</sup> All the objections to which the other articles have been obliged to submit, the complaints that the proofs in the discourses of Jesus and the Apostles on which they rest are imperfect, that their appearance in Church confessions was late or isolated, that their original meaning was doubtful, that their importance for the faith and life of Christians was slight—all these must hold their peace in the presence of this article. It is unnecessary to prove this by quotations. Does this concluding sentence therefore rejoice in the greater favour of those who are so unwilling to welcome the other articles? It is an open secret that this is by no means the case. Much more the return of Christ, with all the prophecies and hopes depending on it, is for a great number of theologians a most unwelcome article of Biblical and ecclesiastical Christianity. It seems to me that we may deduce from this that they deceive themselves who imagine that their attacks on other articles of the second portion of the Creed, to which we have already referred, contain the reasons, or, at all events, the only real reasons, of their aversion to them. Neither do I believe that their dislike to the confession of the coming again of Christ and His future judgment has its real ground

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 41, n. 1. The author of the Gnostic Acts of Peter himself uses the formula: "iudex vivorum atque mortuorum" (*ed. Lipsius*, p. 64, 21; 75, 2), while in other places he tries his hand at correction of the Creed. *Cf. Hist. of the Canon*, II. 839, n. 4.

in the obscurities which cling to some portions of the New Testament prophecies. The reasons must lie deeper. There is no need for me to investigate them. Every earnest Christian will allow, since he knows it from his own experience, that the reasons, which make even a pious man tremble at the thought of the end of the world, cannot by any means be justified, but must rather be conquered.

## IX.

Credo in Spiritum Sanctum.

I believe in the Holy Ghost.

*Rom.*: καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον.<sup>1</sup>—*Aquil.*: Et in Spiritu Sancto.—*Afr.*: Credimus (et) in Spiritum Sanctum. *Serus.*: καὶ εἰς ἐν ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸν παράκλητον τὸ λαλήσαν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις. *Antioch.* is for several articles of the third division uncertain.

To say that the Christian put his faith in the Holy Ghost as he did in God and in Christ does not rightly describe the mode of expression in the New Testament. It was not natural to say "I believe in the Holy Ghost" at a time when the life and particularly the Divine worship of the community had to represent manifold forms of life. They were regarded by those who expressed them, as by those who examined and proved them, as direct communications from the Spirit sent by the exalted Jesus and peculiar to the community, to be distinguished from those utterances which depended on intelligent reflection and the use of inherited gifts. When the Holy Spirit *speaks*,<sup>2</sup> He is heard. When He manifests Himself as a healing power to those who are suffering from bodily diseases (1 Cor. 12, 9), He is *seen* in His undeniable working. When, occasionally, He inwardly forces the missionaries to give up or to alter their

<sup>1</sup> So in the Psalter of Athelstan; according to Marcellus εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, which is perhaps more correct, because Dionysius of Rome also writes thus in his condensed formula. See above, p. 16, n. 1 (Germ. ed.).

<sup>2</sup> Acts 13. 2; 20. 23; 21. 4, 11; 1 Cor. 12. 3 ff. (Apoc. 2. 7, 11, etc.). In addition, Acts 2. 4, 33; 10. 44-46; 19. 6; 1 Cor. 14. 2 ff.

well thought-out plans (Acts 16, 6), and when He overpowers not a few to such an extent that they lose their hearing and sight and are in such a state of ecstasy that they imagine they belong to another world, then the Spirit is *felt*. The relation of those who have the Spirit to this Spirit is, it is true, at all times one of faith; for He Himself is invisible, however much His working stretches out into the regions of physical and psychical perception. He is not possessed like the powers of the bodily nature and inherited faculties, or like the skill gained by the exercise of the mind. "He bloweth where he listeth," He giveth when and as He will. He takes possession of a man and then seems to leave him to himself again. We must trust Him that He will not refuse His help at the right time.<sup>1</sup> We must beware that we do not plant difficulties in His way, that we do not quench or grieve Him.<sup>2</sup> In all this the relation of the Christian to the Holy Ghost resembles his relation to the Father in heaven and to the Son of God. But there is a difference between the God whom no man hath seen and the Lord Jesus, who is no longer seen by Christians and whom they have not yet seen a second time, on the one hand, and the Holy Ghost whom they bear within them, and of whose presence they are conscious on the other. Although they believe in Him yet He is above all, the inner witness for all truth, and the pledge of the completion of their state of salvation,<sup>3</sup> a witness who needs no proof and no confirmation. Especially in a time so rich in *charismatic* appearances as the first decades of Church life it was much more unnatural to say "I believe in the Holy Ghost" than to say "I believe in God and in Christ." Neither can it be proved that the oldest

<sup>1</sup> Phil. 1. 19 (to be explained by Matt. 10. 20; Mark 13. 11); Rom. 8. 26; 1 Cor. 12. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Eph. 4. 30; 1 Thess. 5. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. 8. 16; 1 John 5. 6-8; Rom. 8. 23; 2 Cor. 1. 22.

baptismal confession of Pauline times, the existence of which cannot well be doubted, contained a formal confession of the Holy Ghost (see p. 41, n. 3, Germ. ed), though by this we do not mean that there was no reference to the Holy Ghost in that original Creed. On the other hand it was no presumption, when the Creed, which is the common root of all later creeds, was first drawn up, to give the Holy Ghost the place after the One God and the Lord Christ, which He has retained ever since in the Christian confession. Ample Biblical grounds for this are to be found in the promises made by Jesus of the Spirit of Truth, who should be sent to the Church as the other Paraclete in His stead, as He Himself had been sent by the Father, in the baptismal command of the Risen One, in the Trinitarian declarations such as Rev. 1-4 f., or 2 Cor. 13, 13, and in the statements of the Apostles already mentioned, which rest on experience of the Holy Ghost as a willing, acting, feeling, help-giving, strength-imparting subject. To these may be added the statements in the earliest sub-apostolic writings,<sup>1</sup> which exactly correspond to these, and which prove that the communities founded by the Apostles from the very beginning held the faith in the Trinity, although we are unable to fix the very year and day in which this faith found a corresponding expression in their baptismal confession. If Christians of a period that is poor in or void of miracles have less palpable experiences of the power of the Holy Ghost ruling in the Church than the Christians of the time of St. Paul, they have all the more need to meditate on faith in the Holy Ghost. They must not put their

<sup>1</sup> Clement 1 Cor. 64. 6: "Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace, who is poured out upon us?" Clement seems almost to refer to a formula when he exclaims (1 Cor. 58. 2): "So truly does God live and the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, the faith and hope of the elect." These are the object and meaning of the faith and hope of Christians. Cf. Lightfoot's notes on the passage. Moreover, Justin, *Apol.* I. 6, 13, 61, and my *Forschungen*, III. 232.

trust in men and in human handiwork, but in the power of the Spirit of God and of Christ, that Spirit who has never yet abandoned the community and who still works the greatest miracles in her midst at the present time. For what can be more wonderful than that, after all the wise and foolish attacks on the Christian faith in the course of so many centuries, and after all the wise and foolish defences of the same, there should be always 7,000 men or more who hold fast by the Gospel, so full of stumbling blocks and foolishness, and to its old creed. They need never feel alone so long as, instead of counting heads, they believe in a holy, universal Church.

THEOD. ZAHN.

A FRESH INTERPRETATION OF PSALM CXXVII.

("Except the Lord build the house.")

*Then the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah, and troubled them in building, and hired counsellors against them, to frustrate their purpose, all the days of Cyrus king of Persia, . . . and [the work of the house of God] ceased unto the second year of the reign of Darius king of Persia (Ezra iv. 4, 5, 24).*

The Jewish exiles who availed themselves of the permission given in the decree of Cyrus to return and to rebuild the temple were doomed to disappointment for sixteen years. They returned to find themselves in the midst of a population of half-heathens ("the people of the land") who first claimed a share in the proposed building; and next, when their claim was rejected, sought with all their power to prevent the temple from being built at all.

The erection of a temple was in any case a very great work for a band of returned exiles to attempt. Public

spirit, personal contributions, and personal work were needed to accomplish the task, and moreover each man had his own house to build and his own position to secure in a country which was new and strange to him, though it was the land of his fathers. The inherent difficulties of the case were great enough before they were enhanced by the active opposition of enemies. This opposition moreover was formidable in itself. It was local, and therefore constant; it was countenanced by Persian officials, and therefore wore a legal aspect. The jealous half-heathen settlers in Judah won over to their side Tatnai (Tattenai), "the governor beyond the river," *i.e.* (probably) the satrap of Syria. The decree of Cyrus was hindered in its accomplishment; the foundations of the temple were laid, but little more could be done. The enemy appealed to the Persian court, and the Jews found that they had laboured in vain to build, and watched in vain over their work. The frown of a satrap and the opposition of neighbours stopped further progress, so that sixteen years after Cyrus' decree the prophet Haggai protests in the Lord's name to the Lord's people: *Mine house lieth waste, while ye run every man to his own house* (Haggai i. 9).

The sound of a prophet's voice brought a change over the scene, a change most artlessly told by the Hebrew historian. *Now the prophets Haggai the prophet and Zechariah the son of Iddo prophesied unto the Jews . . . Then rose up Zerubbabel and Jeshua and began to build the house of God* (Ezra v. 1, 2).

Haggai aroused the Jews with few words full of faith and force, *Be strong and work, for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts*. Zechariah, with home-made visions of *carpenters* (i. 20), of a *measuring-line* (ii. 1, 2), and of a *lampstand* (iv. 2), painted before his countrymen's eyes the ultimate success of their efforts to build. The nation recovered its lost spirit. *The elders of the Jews builded,*

*and they prospered through the prophesying of Haggai and Zechariah* (Ezra vi. 14).

The voice of the prophet found an echo in the voice of the psalmist. That Psalm cxxvii., rightly understood, gives the same message as the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah, the following translation will show :

1. Surely Jehovah will build the house,  
Whose builders have laboured in vain;  
Surely Jehovah will keep the city,  
Whose watchman hath waked in vain.
2. (Vain labour hath it been to you,  
Ye that rose up early,  
That sat down late,  
That did eat the bread of painful toil.)  
Thus<sup>1</sup> will he give to his loved one sleep.

Israel's efforts have failed, says the Psalmist, but now Jehovah Himself, the true Builder and the true Watchman (Ps. cxxi. 4), will intervene, and Israel may sleep while Jehovah watches and works.

But what exactly did the Psalmist mean by saying that Jehovah Himself would build and watch, and that Israel might now look forward to rest? It was certainly not a time for mere quiescence; the temple was not destined to be finished by unseen supernatural hands; the greater part of the work remained to be done, and must be done by the Jews themselves. Yet the Psalmist prophesies with emphasis that Jehovah Himself will build the long-neglected temple.

The answer to the question lies in the new attitude of the Persian court. During the last years of Cyrus, and during the reigns of his successor Cambyses, and of the usurper Gomata (Smerdis) the Magian, the decree of Cyrus had slumbered only half accomplished. But now Darius the son of Hystaspes was on the throne,

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* By "building" and by "keeping."

A still strong man in a blatant land,  
Who could rule and dare not lie—<sup>1</sup>

a second Cyrus indeed in the strength and originality of his character. Jehovah had stirred up the spirit of Cyrus to decree (Ezra i. 1); and Jehovah, so prophet and psalmist saw, had raised up this vigorous Darius<sup>2</sup> to carry out the decree.

The exiles might rest now from the fever of fear and the palsy of despair, and fall asleep after each day's labour with the thought that Jehovah was indeed working with them and watching over them.

Thus ends the first half of the psalm, consisting of vv. 1, 2. The second half, consisting of vv. 3, 4, 5, seems at first sight to have no connexion with what goes before. In fact, however, the change of thought introduced in v. 3 is less abrupt than it seems. The temple was of no value unless Israel could be securely replanted round it. The building could fulfil its end only if it became the centre of a living people. The returned exiles, however, formed an incomplete community unworthy to be called a people as yet.

There were few women and children among them; for the first to take the long journey to the half-deserted land of Palestine were doubtless, for the most part, young and vigorous men. These, like all new settlers, had to make the home before they could fill it. So at first the restored community of Israel might be described in general terms as *childless and dwindling*, a sad community with a wholly uncertain future. Of what use was it to build the temple

<sup>1</sup> "Thus saith Darayavush the king: Thou who mayest be king hereafter, keep thyself altogether from lies." (*Behistun Inscription of Darius.*)

<sup>2</sup> "The temples which Gomata had destroyed, I rebuilt . . .

The religious chants and worship I restored . . .

I established the state in its place . . .

As it was before, so I restored what had been taken away." (*Ibid.*)

and inhabit Jerusalem once more, if extinction was to be the end?

And so the Psalmist passes on to a further promise. Jehovah will build the temple, and Jehovah will watch over the city—yes, and He will do more than this. Those who are faithful to Him shall receive not only help for the present, but also pledges for the future. Zechariah (viii. 5) had prophesied, *The streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof*. The Psalmist in vision sees the prophecy already accomplished and exclaims:

3. See the heritage which Jehovah giveth, even children!  
[See] His reward, even the fruit of the womb!

The two remaining verses of the psalm contain the Psalmist's musings on the vision he has seen. He says that *the children of youth*, i.e. the children born while their father is still young, grow up to be their father's defence. Like arrows they go whither he sends them against the enemy. Nay, it is not always necessary for the man of many sons to resort to the doubtful arbitrament of war. Respected by his foe, he may treat with the enemy in the gate, and hold his own in peaceful conference.

4. Like arrows in the hand of a mighty man, so are the sons of youth.  
5. Blessed is the man who hath filled his quiver with them;  
They will not be ashamed;  
Verily they will speak with their enemies in the gate!

In conclusion, I may be allowed to say that I have made the translation of the psalm as literal as possible.

W. E. BARNES.

### *CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT AND EVOLUTION.*

IN the previous parts of this paper we have discussed the claims of spontaneous evolution to account for the origin of species of living beings, in comparison with that view of nature which regards it as the development in time of a great creative plan, by agencies determined by the Creator, but for the most part as yet very imperfectly comprehended by us; and have endeavoured to show, in the light of recent discoveries, that the ablest advocates of spontaneous or mechanical evolution have failed to make good its case.

It may be asked, however, What relation does our idea of creative development bear to that of "special creation," so much decried by evolutionists?—on the same grounds which caused the Athenian philosophers to "mock" when St. Paul referred to the resurrection. On this it may be observed that, as we have already seen, even Darwin had to admit the necessity of a primary "inbreathing of life" to afford the initial species for the work of selection; and, though many of his disciples fail to see the necessity for such creative act, this must be because their mental vision is less acute than that of their master. What may have occurred once in this way might have occurred again. But, waving this, we are, no more than Darwin, obliged to maintain that every so-called species, recent or fossil, is the product of an independent creative act. There is the best reason to believe that many of these species are merely varietal forms elevated into specific standing by species-making collectors, who desire to have the credit of discovering something "new to science," or have not been sufficiently critical in their discrimination of characters. A vast amount of detailed and thankless labour will be required to settle this question, especially with regard to

fossils. So far as this labour has been undertaken, as, for instance, by Barrande and Davidson in the case of the Brachiopods, the long lists of synonyms attached to many of the species indicate the present uncertainty on a point which requires to be definitely settled before we can enter with confidence into any discussion of the origin of species, or even into that of the preliminary question of their fixity or liability to incessant change. In so far as the mollusks are concerned, my late friend, Dr. P. P. Carpenter, who had devoted years to the study of the more variable shells, had arrived at important conclusions in regard to the limitation and fixity of the species, which, unfortunately, he did not live to publish; and in the same department another deceased friend, Dr. Gwyn Jeffries, of London, has told me that in visiting collections on the continent of Europe, he had found that the species in some of them bore the same relation to his as that of a shilling to a sovereign, they were split up so finely. Who can tell how many of our received species are only the small change of God's coinage?

Again, there were "critical periods" in the introduction of species and groups of species, as when, at certain geological crises, large areas of the continents subsided and became shallow seas, tenanted by hundreds of species of marine animals not found in the formations of previous ages. Le Conte, the geologist of California, has given much attention to this, and his results are sustained by the study of fossils in the more northern parts of America as well as in Europe. It may be that the present human period is one of stagnation—a "rest of the Creator." There seems indeed good geological evidence of this in the rich and varied fauna and flora of the middle and later Tertiary ages in comparison with the more meagre character of that which now exists. Darwin might here have obtained another hint from the author of Genesis, who

speaks of the Creator entering into His rest after the introduction of man.

The destruction of faunæ in critical periods, and their renewal thereafter, seem to be referred to in the following lines from that "hymn of creation" which has come down to us in Psalm civ.,<sup>1</sup> and which Humboldt justly characterized as the finest general view of nature to be found in poetry:—

"These all wait upon Thee;  
That Thou mayest give them their food  
In due season.  
That Thou givest them they gather:  
Thou openest Thy hand, they are filled with good.  
Thou hidest Thy face, they are troubled:  
Thou takest away their breath, they die,  
And return to their dust.  
Thou sendest forth Thy Spirit, they are created:  
And Thou renewest the face of the earth."

It has also been suggested that just as species, by gradual loss of vitality and by access of unfavourable conditions, become extinct, they may have their periods of vital exaltation and advancement, recurring at long intervals, and causing them to assume new characters, which may have been regarded by naturalists as specific. In the articles already referred to, the Duke of Argyll has very ably presented some of these possibilities; and if we do not know more of such principles of mediate creation, as I have elsewhere termed it, this may be owing to the limited scope of our observation.<sup>2</sup>

But a more profound and practical question arises here. What does nature teach as to the character and purposes of its Author, and as to His relations to ourselves considered as rational and moral beings? There is no room here for

<sup>1</sup> An anonymous psalm of uncertain date, but on internal evidence probably one of the most ancient.

<sup>2</sup> *Story of the Earth and Man.*

agnosticism other than of that kind which Romanes has called "*pure agnosticism*," which consists in placing ourselves in the position of inquirers, uninformed but open to conviction. Causes in nature are generally known to us rather by their effects than by their essence, and this must apply *par excellence* to the First Cause of all, who must to some extent be revealed to us by what He has made. But this is an inquiry to be entered into with much caution, in view of our own limitations, and the certainty that we can never penetrate the whole of the designs of the Creator, however we may be able to investigate "parts of His ways."<sup>1</sup>

On the one hand, we cannot fail to see the surpassing grandeur, the beauty and marvellous complexity of nature, and the admirable way in which means are provided to serve all purposes therein. But, on the other hand, in view of the fact that it is to so great an extent invaded by pain, suffering, and death, men have been found to deny that the Ruler of the universe can be either a benevolent or moral being in our sense of the terms; or that, if He is so, He can be omnipotent. These doubts are probably as old as human thought. They appear in some of the oldest of the so-called natural religions, and are among the topics discussed in that patriarchal philosophy which we have in the book of Job, and which is as sound and far-reaching in its conclusions as any later attempts to solve the problem. In modern times Stuart Mill has ably discussed it in his essays on theism, and Spencer and Romanes have entered into its detailed investigation, and the latter, in his latest work,<sup>2</sup> has, like the "Man of Uz," been able to emerge from the darkness of his earlier agnosticism into the light of

<sup>1</sup> "Lo these (the structure of the earth and the visible heavenly bodies) are parts of His ways: but how little a portion is heard of Him? and the thunder of His power who can understand?" (Job xxvi. 14).

<sup>2</sup> *Thoughts on Religion*.

theism and of Christianity. It is perhaps not surprising that in the shallower popular reasonings of the day it is still bandied about between the extremes of pessimism and optimism, or given up as insoluble, or treated with the senseless remark that science cannot consider such matters, as if there was anything in nature that is not of God, providing that there is a God. It is, however, strange to find some of the more "liberal" theologians of the time so perplexed by the current diatribes of agnostics against the alleged cruelty and destructiveness of nature, as to be disposed to accept the Darwinian doctrines of Natural Selection and Struggle for Existence, as a means of throwing the responsibility on Nature itself rather than on the Creator. They do not seem to perceive that this subterfuge will not avail them unless they abandon the ideas of the omnipotence or benevolence of God, and also the whole of the teachings respecting nature in Holy Writ, except in so far as the existing evils depend on the misconduct of man; and in regard to this the "fall of man" is as much implied in the Darwinian evolution as in the Bible.<sup>1</sup> It may be true that, in the present condition of the world, nature affords no complete solution of the mystery, and that while, as Paul affirms, we can learn the power and divinity of God from nature, we can form no adequate idea of His love until the final restoration of that creation which "groans" under the tyranny of man. Still in this connection the great Apostle of the Gentiles holds that we can learn enough of His kindness to feel the obligation to thankfulness.<sup>2</sup>

There are, however, certain misconceptions current on this subject which it is well to notice here.

(1) Though man is made in the image of God, and though men, on this account and as having delegated

<sup>1</sup> See *Eden Lost and Won*, and *Story of the Earth*, by the author.

<sup>2</sup> Epistle to Romans i. 20, 21.

authority in the world, are "sons of God," and may even be called gods in a subordinate sense,—his representatives,—yet it is plain that God's thoughts and decisions must rest on infinitely broader grounds than ours, which must always be partial and imperfect. This is well seen in Christ's doctrine as to final rewards, in reply to the question of His too impatient disciples James and John, as to their positions in His Kingdom. These can be awarded only by Omniscience and at the final judgment. Any present human decision could reach only up to the actual date, might extend only a little way back, and would be founded on imperfect evidence. God's perception of character on the other hand goes back to the remotest inheritance from ancestors, and reaches forward to the last influences of any thought, word, or action, down to the end of time. What applies to our judgment of our fellow men, applies still more strongly to our judgment as to the ways of God.

(2) Any manifestation of the eternal and spiritual God in things material or phenomenal must necessarily be in some respects the converse of His own nature. He is eternal and unchangeable. His material works are temporal and transitory. Besides this, the little they can reveal of God is seen but for a short time, and then vanishes away in so far as our vision is concerned. It is like a few figures in a long procession seen by a momentary flash and then relapsing into darkness. I have elsewhere compared our ideas as to God's plans to a momentary glance of an uninformed spectator at an unfinished picture or building, which may have been the work of years on the part of great artists.

(3) When it pleases God to create beings having intelligence and freedom of will, whether men or angels, He voluntarily limits His action, in so far as they are concerned, by the scope of power and movement which He

has allowed to such creatures. Such free-will may injure or destroy works of God, producing thereby long trains of irregularities and interferences, which may go on till corrected by Divine intervention, and are to be considered distinctly from the main course of the great plan from which they diverge, or appear for a time to diverge.

(4) This great plan cannot be rightly judged till we are in view of its ultimate results. At present we can scarcely see in most cases even its general tendency. In this regard the demand made upon us in Holy Scripture that we should have faith in God for the present, and be assured that the Judge of all the earth will do right, is surely reasonable. I confess that nothing impresses me more with the divine origin and inspiration of the Bible than the lofty attitude which it assumes from the beginning to the end on this subject. God is responsible for the goodness of all His works in physical, organic, rational and moral nature, and regulates their introduction, advance, maturity, decline and extinction, and their subsequent renewal from age to age of His working. This appears everywhere,—in the first chapter of Genesis, in the book of Job, in the Hymn of Creation (Psalm civ.), in the teaching of Christ, in the arguments of Paul and Peter respecting the sovereignty and justice of God, and in the destructions and final renewal predicted in the Apocalypse.

These grand and far-reaching conceptions, so conspicuous in Scripture, are often equally conspicuous by their absence not only from the arguments usually employed in opposition to design and teleology, but in those in defence of these principles. Perhaps no external consideration is more fitted than this to show us the necessity in religion of some direct communication between the spiritual Creator and His rational offspring, in addition to the indirect teaching of natural phenomena, which are neither fully representative of the Creator nor fully understood by us.

If now we turn to the teaching of revelation as bearing on the points discussed in this paper, I think we shall find, though we can look at it only in a very summary manner, that it throws a flood of light on man as a part of nature, and as at the same time a spiritual being allied to his maker, and thus furnishes the solution of the perplexities which surround us in inquiring into the Divine and human relations of the material world.

To every careful and earnest student of the Bible the scheme of creation and redemption, as presented therein, has neither the aspect of a series of fortuitous occurrences, nor of a spontaneous evolution, and rather appears as the development of a great plan running through all the ages of the earth's existence, and culminating in new heavens and a new earth, with their appropriate inhabitants. This is so obvious, and has been so often dilated on in different ways, that I may here be content merely to sketch its general features in so far as they are parallel with the history of the world as we gather it from other sources, and to point out some portions of the analogy of nature and revelation which impress themselves more strongly at the present day than was possible formerly. In the first chapter of Genesis we find a chaos "without form and void," developed by one advance after another, till it blossoms in the garden of the Lord, with man in God's image as its happy inhabitant. So in the history of God's chosen people, the childless pair who migrated from Ur of the Chaldees expand into several nations, and ultimately constitute the nucleus of the empire of David and Solomon. Christ Himself compares His kingdom to a grain of mustard seed, which grows to be a tree, and we see the early stages of this growth portrayed in the spread in the apostolic ages of Christianity throughout the Roman empire. So in the bold imagery of the Apocalypse there appears the great scroll of destiny with its seven seals, waiting to be un-

rolled to display successive pictures of the future of the world and of the kingdom of Christ.

More especially is this developmental progress marked in the unrolling of the scheme of redemption which is the great and special theme of the Bible. Appearing as a germ in the promise to fallen man in Genesis, it is further specialised in the successive revelations to Noah, to Abraham, to Jacob, to Moses, and to the Hebrew prophets, until its primary realisation appears in the mission of Jesus the Christ, and its final perfection in the future and everlasting kingdom of this same glorified Christ Jesus. The late Dr. Romanes, the most subtle of English evolutionists, thus refers to this in the posthumous fragments published in 1896 under the title *Thoughts on Religion*.

"Supposing Christianity true, it is certain that the revelation which it conveys has been predetermined at least since the dawn of the historical period. This is certain because the objective evidences of Christianity have their origin in that dawn, and these evidences are throughout (parts) of a scheme in which the end can be seen from the beginning . . . The mere fact of its being so largely incorporated with secular history renders the Christian religion unique. So to speak, the world, throughout its entire historical period, has been constituted the canvas on which this Divine revelation has been painted—and painted so gradually that not until the process had been going on for a couple of thousand years was it possible to perceive the subject thereof."

There are two features of this development of Christianity which deserve especial notice in considering its natural analogies. The first is that the Divine power takes the initiative in all progress. Nothing arises by a spontaneous evolution from the phenomenal or created. In the work of creation the Divine fiat is the sole cause of change and elevation. The Divine power and contrivance provides for the residence and destiny of man, and for the means of restoration from the moral degradation and death which he has brought on himself. Throughout the whole history,

men left to themselves tend to relapse into evil and degradation, and their conflicts too often tend to the survival of the rudest and worst types. It is only the Divine Spirit that calms the tumult of the sea of human passions. Even after the advent of Christ, apostasy soon tends to set in, and continues to deepen till new spiritual life descends from above. So it does also in the final culmination, where the city of God is not the product of the endeavours of men, however well meant or valuable in their way, but descends from God out of heaven. Indeed, all our scientific, educational, and social efforts are but like the gas and electric lights, which aid us in the darkness, but must be extinguished before the light of the rising sun of the Divine appearing.

Another feature of the development is that, like the course of life in geological time, it is accompanied by the rejection and loss of many important things. Of this kind are the exile of Cain and the destruction of the antediluvians by the flood; the rejection of so many of the peoples descended from Noah, and their lapse into idolatry and barbarism; the special selection of Abraham and his family, and of Jacob instead of Esau; the failure of Jesus and His Apostles to convert the Jews as a nation, and the consequent overthrow of Jerusalem and dispersion of the Jewish people; the subversion of the Western and Eastern Christianised empires by the barbarians and the Moslem; and, according to the Apocalypse, the still more stupendous catastrophe awaiting the present nations of the world. Thus blessing and cursing, building up and pulling down, progress and retrogression, go hand in hand, and the advance of humanity as a whole leaves behind a series of wrecks which seem loss and waste, unless God has plans respecting them unknown to us. They resemble at the moment the perished animals of bygone geological ages, of which only crushed and distorted skeletons remain to us, sometimes testifying even yet by their attitudes to the pain

of their dissolution. The facts of history strike the historians and prophets of the Bible much as these crushed and distorted skeletons of fossil animals affect some of our modern naturalists, and give rise to similar questions, the only solution of which seems to be in absolute faith in the wisdom and justice of God. Paul testifies that the apparent rejection of Israel was to him a cause of much grief and continual sorrow of heart. Christ Himself weeps over the Jerusalem which would not permit Him to save it, vindicating perhaps the strange verse of Charles Wesley which says:—

“For those that *will not come* to Him  
The ransom of His life was paid.”

So far as God's dealings with man in his wilfulness and disobedience are concerned, the reasoning of St. Paul in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters of his letter to the Roman Christians gives us the most full explanation, one that applies to nature in general as well as to man. It is simply this, that if we believe in God at all, we are bound to believe that He understands what He is doing, and that before we undertake to “reply against God,” we should consider how very little we have in the way of data to enable us to judge of His plans or of His capacity to bring out of the whole the greatest possible good at last. This may be a humbling conclusion, but it is surely better than the pessimism and mental confusion which result from supposing that we are the sport of insensate and pitiless natural forces, crushing us in their mechanical progress toward ends in which we have no personal interest. We have also the right to take the whole in connection with the Christian doctrine of personal salvation provided freely for all who will accept it, and leading to reconciliation with God, and ultimately to entering into His counsels, so that we shall “know even as we are known.”

Thus there is a remarkable analogy between the difficulties that meet us in explaining the pain, suffering, and loss that appear in nature and those that appear in human history, and neither can be solved unless from the point of view of theism and of personal faith in a divine Redeemer we can acquiesce in the dealings of God with us, and can entertain the assured trust that He doeth all things well, and that eventually we shall understand this.

In the meantime, in so far as science and common sense are concerned, we may consider the case of evolution of the kind held by Spencer and Darwin, as closed, and that the way is open to consider a Divine Development in nature as the process of the origin of the world. If we find this complex and difficult to resolve into its true secondary causes, that is what we should expect; but we should also expect it to be in harmony with any true revelation from God respecting our own welfare and our relations to God on the one hand, and to the world we are to rule over on the other.

I have only to add, as the personal conclusion of the whole matter, after more than half a century of study of nature and revelation, that when I regard the material universe as seen in the one or represented in the other, I am overwhelmed with a sense of my own ignorance and insignificance, and can but say, "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?" while, in regard to my natural inability to fulfil the ends of my own existence, I must regard myself as an altogether unprofitable servant, and, like the old patriarch depicted in the book of Job, must "abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes,"<sup>1</sup> asking God, not to "forsake the work of His own hands."<sup>2</sup> But when, on the other hand, I know that "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but should have eternal life," I am

<sup>1</sup> Job xlii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cxxxviii. 8.

content to leave in His hands all the perplexities that arise from nature and human life and history, and am ready to join St. Paul in his great ascription of praise :—

“ O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God ! how unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past tracing out ! For who hath known the mind of the Lord ? or who hath first given to Him, and it shall be recompensed to Him again ? For of Him, and through Him, and unto Him, are all things : to whom be glory for ever.”<sup>1</sup>

J. WILLIAM DAWSON.

### KING JAREB.

HOSEA v. 13; x. 6.

ON my return after a long absence, I find on my table the last number of the *Zeitschrift* for Old Testament Studies. Prof. W. Max Müller, of Philadelphia, here offers the same correction of מלך ירב which I had put forward in the November EXPOSITOR, p. 364, with the exception that he retains the ' in ירב, and attaches it to מלך, thus producing the archaic form מלכי. “The old termination was preserved,” he says, “in *malki*, because the entire expression was to Hebrew feeling a proper name.” He does not, however, refer to the possibility of a reading מלך רם (or מלכי), “high king,” though a final *m* is favoured by LXX. Michaelis was already on the right track ; he however retained ירב in the sense of “great.” The emendation appears to me both obvious and correct.

T. K. CHEYNE.

<sup>1</sup> Rom. xi. 33.

## *FUSION OF JEWS AND GENTILES IN ONE BODY IN CHRIST.*

THE first terrible persecution of the Christian community in Jerusalem compelled many disciples to seek refuge in foreign lands. Besides greatly extending the sphere of Christian influence, this enforced emigration had a wonderful effect in enlarging their ideal. Within a few years a small society of spiritually minded Jews developed a separate religion, which struck firm root in all the principal cities of the Greek world, and aspired to universal dominion over the hearts and lives of all mankind. Believers in Christ perceive in this transformation a signal proof of the inspired wisdom which guided the counsels and shaped the destiny of the primitive Church: philosophic historians discern in it a remarkable instance of the powerful action of spiritual forces on human society.

The Gospel record of the Founder's life by no means prepares the reader for this rapid expansion. For though He comprehended the whole human race within His own spiritual horizon, and made no secret of the ultimate destiny of His Gospel, Jesus was careful during His lifetime to limit the practical horizon of His disciples to Jews alone. When He sent them forth before His face, He expressly forbade their going into any way of the Gentiles, or even into any city of the Samaritans. He habitually restricted His own ministrations to the house of Israel: on the rare occasions on which He departed from this rule He studiously reminded His followers that the exceptional concession was due to preeminent faith, and even assumed

a semblance of cruel disdain in repulsing the petition of a suppliant Gentile.<sup>1</sup> Not until the very eve of the Ascension did He directly include Samaritans and Gentiles within the scope of their commission. Even then the date of their conversion remained hidden behind the impenetrable veil of futurity: the disciples were still allowed to cherish the illusion, fostered by the language of Hebrew prophecy, that the incoming of the Gentiles was destined to swell the triumph of the older Israel, and to forget their Master's warnings that the approaching downfall of the material temple of God was to pave the way for the establishment of a spiritual worship throughout the world.

A succession of events combined to bring about the actual conversion of the Gentiles. The first impulse was given by the persecution which drove forth a number of Christian refugees into the cities of the Gentiles. The subsequent admission of Gentiles to baptism was determined by an express revelation of the will of God through visions and outpouring of the Spirit to Peter and his companions, and through them to the whole Church. This event in reality revolutionised the position of the Church, though the momentous consequences with which it was pregnant were hardly realised at the time: for it decided once for all the principle that Greek and Jew should be baptized into one common faith, and both seal the same covenant with God in Christ. Its earliest fruit was seen in the growth of a mixed community in Antioch, not wholly Jewish nor wholly Gentile, for whom was coined the new name of Christian. A great number of devout Gentiles of the same type as Cornelius were constant attendants on the worship of the synagogue. We come across the mention of this habit incidentally in the Pisidian Antioch and in Iconium; Pauline history exhibits its prevalence at Corinth and Ephesus likewise, and leaves no doubt that it existed

<sup>1</sup> Luke vii. 9; Mark vii. 27.

generally in every Greek city that contained a synagogue. These men valued the Hebrew Scriptures and were attracted by Hebrew theology and morality, but shrank from circumcision and the burdensome obligations which it entailed. Many, therefore, when brought into contact with Christian preaching in the synagogue, found in the offer of baptism without circumcision the very revelation they had learnt to crave, and welcomed gladly the opportunity of entering into covenant with God without, at the same time, submitting to the bondage of the Mosaic law. But the conversion of individual Greeks attracted little attention for a time: for these Gentile sympathisers were not accounted true members of the synagogue; their presence was barely tolerated, perhaps in hope of their conversion, perhaps from interested motives; and they bore the badge of social and religious inferiority in their uncircumcision, so that their adhesion to the new creed would excite at first little observation. For several years, too, the process of conversion was from circumstances very gradual; for Judaism was strongly intrenched within the citadel of the Church. Synagogues afforded the only local centres for the propagation of the Gospel; the preachers and the mass of the audience, converted and unconverted alike, were thoroughly imbued with Jewish sentiment: even Paul himself was content apparently for a while at Antioch to address himself to the Jew first; no jealousy was yet aroused on the part of the Circumcision; they gave at least no sign of active opposition to the growth of a Gentile Church in Antioch, but acquiesced silently in the baptism of other Gentiles as they had before in that of Cornelius.

But the burning words of Paul in Asia Minor, his direct appeal from his Jewish to his Gentile hearers, their enthusiastic response, and his successful mission in concert with Barnabas amidst them, heralded a new departure, and awakened a well-founded apprehension amidst Jewish

Christians that loyalty to the ancient faith would be swept away by the flood of new converts pressing in from the cities of the Greeks. For the Gentile converts had already gained a sure foothold within the Church by baptism. Their inheritance of God's grace in Christ, of His promises, and His Spirit, had been sealed to them by Divine sanction. Under Paul's preaching they had firmly grasped the doctrine of Christian freedom, and were prepared to maintain their equality with the Jew before God. They possessed in the Church of Antioch a central stronghold from which to propagate their faith : above all they had now apostolic leaders as richly endowed with the Spirit, and as highly favoured with the Divine blessing, as any that the rival Church in Judæa could boast : they wanted only numbers and organisation to obtain the ascendancy in the local churches outside Palestine, and were rapidly accumulating these additional elements of strength. They were manifestly tending to absorb the forces of the larger Gentile world ; and the promise of the future belonged to them as surely as the favour of God had rested on Israel in the past.

On the other hand the church of Palestine was strong in centuries of unbroken connexion with the service of God ; they were heirs of the ancient faith, depositaries of God's Word, children of the patriarchs and the prophets ; they were also living witnesses of all that Christ had said and done and suffered on earth from His birth to His ascension : and all its members were deeply pledged to the maintenance of circumcision and the Law. Heroic struggles against Greek idolatry had imbued every pious Jew with patriotic pride in the fulfilment of his religious obligations. The spirit of religious exclusiveness had sunk deep into the hearts of the nation, and the prescription of centuries forbade free intercourse with Gentiles. The Jewish Christian had inherited these traditions equally with the unconverted Jew, and was imbued from his birth with equally strong

prejudices. Communion with the uncircumcised and the unclean was originally no less abhorrent to him than to the unconverted: and the prospect of Gentile supremacy in the Church must have been wellnigh intolerable to the mass. This strong current of feeling prompted a last desperate effort to impose on Gentile converts the rite of circumcision with its attendant legal obligations, and led to a dangerous crisis in the Church. Though their right to baptism could not be impugned in the face of express intervention from heaven in its favour, it was still open to Christians to contend that according to God's Word circumcision was also an essential condition of God's covenant, and that therefore baptism alone was not sufficient for salvation without the addition of circumcision. This claim was put forward at Antioch by Christians from Judæa with a certain measure of support from Jerusalem; they disparaged the independent value and privilege of Christian baptism in comparison with the earlier rite, and insisted on this being still the indispensable channel of God's covenanted blessings.

It is not recorded by what specious reasoning they sought to reconcile this dishonour of the Christian ordinance with true faith in Christ. Enough that their argument struck at the very existence of Gentile congregations within the pale of the Church, and subordinated Christianity afresh to those fetters of Judaism which it had begun to shake off; yet they claimed to speak in the name of their Church, for they refused to listen to the remonstrances of Paul and Barnabas, or to bow to the authority of the Church of Antioch. This issue, once raised, urgently called for a decisive answer; there could be no more peace in any mixed communities until some basis of agreement had been devised. For the two views propounded were irreconcilable: Jewish exclusiveness could not coexist with a law of perfect freedom for the uncircumcised in a single com-

munity of Christian brethren. The Church was thus brought face to face with the most formidable danger that had yet beset her. Disruption seemed imminent—a disruption which threatened her very life. For how could a divided Church, which should exhibit in one section the unbounded license of Gentile communities, severed in their infancy from the restraints of Scriptural and Christian tradition, and in the other the narrow sectarianism of a Jewish brotherhood tied down to every ordinance of the Mosaic ritual, carry throughout the world the gospel message of faith in a holy Saviour and universal brotherhood between man and man? Thanks to the courage and wisdom with which the leaders of the Church faced the crisis, and to the mutual forbearance inspired by Christian brotherhood in the hearts of the disciples, this catastrophe was averted, and a reasonable compromise effected by means of a friendly conference at Jerusalem under the leadership of Peter and James, Paul and Barnabas, generally known by the name of the Apostolic Council. This treaty of peace did much more than avert the immediate danger of schism: it finally swept aside the most serious obstacle to the union of Jew and Gentile in one communion, and enabled them without disloyalty to the laws and customs of their fathers to form a single brotherhood, and participate in the blessings of a common faith.

Let us now turn to the history of this council in Acts xv. 1-33.<sup>1</sup> The Church of Antioch took the initiative in negotiation, prompted doubtless by its chief ministers Barnabas and Paul, who themselves headed an embassy to Jerusalem for the express purpose of putting an end to controversy and restoring peace and harmony. The occasion for this course is stated distinctly: Christians from

<sup>1</sup> This history is confirmed and illustrated by a personal narrative in Gal. ii. 1-10, but the interpretation and application of the language is beset with difficulty, and I have therefore judged it advisable to rely here on Acts alone.

Judæa had urged on their brethren at Antioch the necessity of circumcision for salvation, in persistent opposition to the doctrine and practice of Barnabas and Paul. The only effectual protest against the interference of these strangers was an appeal to the decision of their own Church, for they refused to recognise any other authority. That this was the real purport of the embassy is manifest from the reply of the council, which bases its action on the reported language of these Christians from Judæa.<sup>1</sup> Before entering on the question of doctrine the letter deals with the personal question, repudiating the right of the agitators to speak in the name of the Church, warmly commending the sacrifices of Barnabas and Paul for the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and accrediting two ambassadors to return with them to Antioch.

But the controversy had gone too far for either party to rest content with personal courtesies. The issue had been distinctly raised, whether or no the obligation of circumcision was universal, and a decision had become imperative. There could be no more peace in any mixed congregation until the claims of the Mosaic law on Gentile converts had been distinctly defined, and the future policy of the Church determined. There was however at this period no constituted authority capable of mediating between the two sections. For the exclusive control of Christian doctrine had passed out of the hands of the Twelve as soon as the Church outgrew the stage of infancy. Peter himself had long ago been called to account, and stood on his defence before his brethren. The Twelve were probably unknown by face to the brethren of the Gentiles, and Jerusalem had ceased to be the central seat of government for the whole Church. The sister Church of Antioch, though indebted to Jerusalem for its origin, had grown up independently, and had herself initiated the recent mission to Cyprus and Asia

<sup>1</sup> Acts xv. 24.

Minor. They had commissioned Barnabas and Paul for its execution, had received their report, and thoroughly identified themselves with the principle of Gentile freedom to which they owed so large a measure of their success. Hence the importance of a conference between the two Churches: for a conference it was—not a surrender of independence nor voluntary submission on the part of Antioch. The choice of ambassadors proclaims the attitude of that church: they deputed Barnabas and Paul, the very men who were most deeply committed to the cause of Gentile freedom and most determined in its support, to represent them at Jerusalem; they desired, in short, to protest against the interference of Christians from Judæa. An embassy for redress of a grievance implies no sacrifice of independence.

Nor did Barnabas and Paul for their part leave any doubt about the attitude they proposed to assume. They did not await the verdict of Jerusalem before committing themselves afresh to a decisive line of action on the vital question in dispute, but proclaimed to enthusiastic hearers in every city on their way what abundant blessing God had granted to their past labours among the Gentiles, and went forward in assured hope of future triumphs.

Resolute however as was the attitude of Paul and Barnabas, the issue of the appeal to Jerusalem was by no means certain, seeing how deeply the whole community was pledged to the maintenance of circumcision. By this token God had sealed His covenant with all the seed of Abraham, expressly ordaining the circumcision of every male child of Abraham without exception. How then could children of Abraham presume to set His Word at nought, and sanction disobedience to His command on the part of brethren who claimed to be likewise children of Abraham and heirs of God's promise to the Fathers? Notwithstanding, in spite of reverence for God's Word, of

pious scruples and traditional prejudices, the required concession was made, and Gentile converts were pronounced exempt from the obligation of circumcision with its attendant legal burdens. For Peter and James threw all their influence into the scale and procured a final verdict in favour of freedom. Nor did the Council assent lightly or hastily without expressing their solemn sense of the responsibility they incurred in setting aside the plain letter of the Law and reinterpreting the Word of God for the benefit of these adopted children of Abraham. The language in which they embody their resolution, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us*, declares their conviction of the real presence of the Spirit in their assembly. They were emboldened in their resolve by a firm faith that Christ was present by His Spirit among them, guiding their decision, and bestowing His express sanction on the fresh legislation which was needed on behalf of the new Israel. They were sure that they spoke the mind of Christ.

Moreover these terms were not unconditional: the proposed treaty took the shape of a bargain, and stipulated that Gentile converts should observe on their side four definite rules of abstinence. So much is declared to be necessary, *i.e.* an indispensable minimum for brotherly communion between the two Churches. For the uncleanness of the Gentile in Jewish eyes was a formidable stumblingblock in the way of Christian union; this was partly moral, partly ceremonial, the two being bound up together in the Law; accordingly the prohibitions included both kinds. The previous address of James states clearly the principle on which the council grounded this claim. They did not urge that these restrictions were essential to salvation, or binding upon Gentiles in themselves, but that the public reading of the Law in Jewish synagogues rendered the practices extremely offensive to their Jewish

brethren. Presented in this light, as a reasonable concession to the scruples of their brethren, the rules found ready acceptance at Antioch; they were doubtless observed by that Church in good faith until they became obsolete, and were not without their value in combating idolatry and impurity, and in fostering a due regard for the conscientious scruples of Christian brethren. Probably the other existing Churches also accepted them, for Paul himself deposited the *resolutions*<sup>1</sup> in the hands of the brethren in Asia Minor. But this is the last mention of them; and it is certain that Paul himself did not regard the ceremonial rules of abstinence as permanently binding on the Church at large, for in his First Epistle to the Corinthians a few years later he treats the subject of uncleanness on a purely Christian basis and with apostolic freedom, without any reference to the ceremonial law. His open breach with the synagogue, and the increasing growth of the Gentile element, had apparently rendered the ceremonial rules already obsolete.

It remains to examine the structure of the council with a view to determining what authority it possessed for enforcing or recommending its decisions throughout the Church. It was composed of three classes—apostles, elders, and brethren. The apostles and elders welcomed the embassy on its arrival and assembled at once to hear the purport of their commission. Apparently no others were present at their first meeting, but an incidental reference to the audience as a *multitude* proves that many other brethren were invited to take part in the subsequent debates; and the concurrence of the whole Church with the apostles and elders in the final resolution is expressly

<sup>1</sup> Our versions of Acts xvi. 4 introduce the idea of authoritative legislation by the mention of *decrees*; but the Greek substantive corresponds to the expression used in xv. 25, *It seemed good unto us*, and really means no more than *resolutions* of the council.

recorded. Moreover the official letter to Antioch runs (according to the correct text) in the name of *the apostles and elder*<sup>1</sup> *brethren*, omitting all mention of the elders.

The title of Apostles was practically limited at Jerusalem to the Twelve, perhaps including James. But a comparison of Acts ix. 27 with Galatians i. 19 shows that the expression *the apostles* should not be interpreted as denoting the presence of the whole body or even of a majority. The large discretionary powers vested in the Twelve at an earlier period might perhaps suggest that the apostles present in the council still exercised supreme control over the government of the Church, and that the brethren who took part in the deliberations were merely subordinate assessors whose presence lent additional weight to their judgment. But the language of Peter altogether negatives this theory: for he pleads no commission from his Master, claims no direct inspiration from on high, but appeals to his brethren as one of themselves, takes his stand on reason and argument like any other advocate, offers his personal testimony of God's past dealings, enforces his advice by lessons drawn from experience, and appeals to their common faith. Evidently the assembled brethren had a real voice in the decision.

This conclusion is confirmed by previous history. The special commission of the Twelve was not to govern the Church, but to bear witness of the Christ by word and deed. For this latter function they were eminently qualified by their antecedents; they were not only chosen witnesses of His life on earth, but were beyond all other men depositaries of the mind of Christ; and being further endowed with special gifts of the Spirit, they became at first exclusive teachers of their brethren. The prerogative

<sup>1</sup> The true force of the word *elder* in this passage is to distinguish the brethren of the older Church, Jerusalem, from *the brethren of the Gentiles*, who belonged to the younger Church of Antioch.

of judgment with which they were in consequence invested, gave them unlimited supremacy in the counsels of the infant Church; but their real concern even then was with the hearts and consciences of men; and so essentially spiritual was their authority that, when circumstances threw into their hands the administration of church funds, they hastened to divest themselves of the charge because it interfered with the preaching of the Word. After the dispersion of the Church no trace remains of this exceptional supremacy of the Twelve as a body. Peter and John long continued central pillars of the Church, James the son of Zebedee gave his life for the Gospel, but the rest of the Twelve were overshadowed by other brethren whom the Spirit quickened here or there to do the work of Apostles, though perhaps without the name. Detached congregations were formed in widely separated localities, and an urgent demand arose for personal leadership and local government, while the rule of the Twelve fell silently into abeyance. Even so early as the baptism of Cornelius Peter appeared before the Apostles and brethren at Jerusalem to justify his conduct, acknowledging the united voice of the Church to possess sovereign authority on questions of discipline and doctrine. His language before the council manifests afresh the same deference to the judgment of his brethren.

Who then were these elders and brethren who took counsel with the apostles in this eventful crisis, and decided by their voices the future of the Church? They were without doubt members of the local Church. The Christian institution of elders was distinctly local like the Jewish, from which it was borrowed: Paul and Barnabas appointed elders in the several cities in Asia Minor in which they had founded churches, and this they did as a matter of course, doubtless according to a pattern already existing in earlier Christian communities. Paul likewise

afterwards committed the charge of the Ephesian Church to local elders. When the Christians of Antioch determined to send relief to the brethren in Judæa, they sent it to the elders at Jerusalem; whence we learn incidentally that these embraced the whole of Judæa within their province. The Pauline contribution was in like manner presented to a meeting of the elders.<sup>1</sup> So here again the council claim jurisdiction over the Christians who had gone down from Judæa to Antioch, as members of their own Church, and pronounce a formal reprimand upon them. For the Temple was still the natural centre of worship as well as sacrifice for the Church of the Circumcision; the apostles still probably made Jerusalem their headquarters for common prayer, instruction, and counsel; and brethren from all parts of Palestine resorted at least three times a year to the holy city; hence the Church of Palestine long retained its unity. Even the Samaritan converts seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Temple at Jerusalem (perhaps in consequence of Christ's words recorded in John iv. 22); for the Church throughout all Judæa and Galilee and Samaria is described in Acts ix. 31 as one Church.

That an enormous majority of those present belonged to this local Church in Palestine might have been safely inferred from circumstances in the absence of any specific reference to a gathering of brethren from without; but the letter to Antioch goes beyond this presumption, and establishes the fact that it was definitely restricted to these members, and that no other brethren were admitted to a voice in the resolution; for their description of Barnabas and Paul as *our beloved Barnabas and Paul* definitely separates the deputation from the members, and defines their position as outside the council. Though heartily welcomed as representatives of a sister Church,

<sup>1</sup> Acts xxi. 18.

granted an attentive hearing, and allowed fully to report the spread of the Gospel among the Gentiles, they were not invited to vote on the final issue or take part in drafting the formal resolution.

This exclusion of Paul and Barnabas proves conclusively that the absence of representatives from other Churches was not due to accidental circumstances, but to deliberate policy; in short, the *raison d'être* of the Council consisted in their representing the Palestine Church. Exactly the same limitation prevails in their assumption of authority. On their own members, who had presumed to interfere with the internal peace of a foreign Church, they pronounce an unqualified rebuke for usurping a right to speak in the name of the Church without due sanction. With the Church of Antioch and its branch Churches in Syria and Cilicia, on the contrary, they negotiate on a footing of equality by drawing up proposals of agreement and deputing representatives on their part to present them.

Whether, therefore, we survey the general history of the crisis, the attitude of Paul and Barnabas, and subsequent independence of the Pauline Churches, or the structure of the Council, the exclusion of representatives from foreign Churches, and the position taken up towards those Churches, we are driven to the conclusion that the council neither had, nor claimed, ecclesiastical jurisdiction outside the local Church. There is therefore no true analogy between it and the general councils of later centuries, with which it has scarcely any common features except the name of council. The institution of general councils belongs to the history of Christian emperors; they were summoned by imperial mandate, attended by bishops from the various provinces of the empire, derived their legislative powers from the systematic organisation of the Church under Roman rule, were supported by the framework of

imperial power behind them; and wielded accordingly extensive powers as supreme arbiters of doctrine and discipline throughout the civilised world. The Council of Jerusalem, on the contrary, had neither representation, jurisdiction, nor support from lawful authority, outside Palestine.

Are we therefore to conclude that its decision had little effect on the future destiny of the Church? By no means; it was indeed of vital importance to its welfare. For the growth of Christianity in those days depended not on legislative enactments, but on spiritual influence, and the moral authority of the Apostolic Council was immense. The apostles and elder brethren who met in Jerusalem comprehended amidst their number almost all the living fathers of the Church; brethren of the circumcision, not in Palestine alone, but throughout the world, looked up to them with perfect confidence as original witnesses of the life and work of Christ, and sure interpreters of God's ancient Word. The issue brought before them by Paul and Barnabas on behalf of the mother Church of the Gentiles involved, as we have seen, imminent peril of a disastrous schism, which was only averted by the assent of the brethren after mature deliberation to the proposals of Peter and James. The immediate result was to relieve Gentile converts from the obligation of circumcision, to raise the standard of purity among them, and to foster on both sides a more tender regard for the conscientious scruples of their brethren. But the immediate result was of light account in comparison with the far-reaching consequences. What did it matter that the enforcement of the treaty depended on mutual agreement, and that its details were subject to revision at the discretion of either party. Its terms were placed on record, and the solemn sanction of the assembled Church of the Circumcision to this basis of union could never be recalled. From this

date began a real fusion of Jew and Gentile within the Church, and a decisive parting between Judaism and Christianity. When Jewish Christians decided to accept uncircumcised converts as baptized brethren, they made a final choice in effect between the spirit of Christian brotherhood and the traditional letter of the Law. They began to turn their backs upon the synagogue, and henceforth drifted ever farther apart from their own countrymen, while they drew together into closer union with their Gentile brethren in the faith. So effective a breach was then made in the middle wall of partition that the eventual union of Jew and Gentile in one universal Church was brought from this moment within the horizon of Christian hope and faith. The unavoidable isolation of Christian communities scattered here and there over the surface of the civilised world precluded indeed for the present any kind of central administration. The federation of local Churches was the utmost approach to outward unity feasible during the apostolic age. But that generation was charged with the duty of laying foundations on which future generations were to build. The special function committed to the Apostolic Council was to heal the ancient feud between Jew and Gentile, to bury their hereditary animosity in the new covenant of baptism, and knit the bonds of brotherly union so firmly that they might eventually become altogether one in Christ. This victory over deep-seated jealousies of race and creed was a signal triumph of Christian grace. For the two races had stood apart for centuries. Their reconciliation in Christ, and mutual co-operation in building up the fabric of the universal Church, was the surest earnest possible of the future union of all mankind, without distinction of race or nation, in one perfected body of Christ.

F. RENDALL.

PROFESSOR SAYCE'S "EARLY HISTORY OF  
THE HEBREWS."

IN his latest volume Prof. Sayce brings forth out of the treasures of his knowledge things "new and old." Much that is said in the *Early History of the Hebrews* will be familiar to those who are acquainted with *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments* and *Patriarchal Palestine*. But archæological research is very active just now; and even since these recent works appeared new facts have come to light of which Prof. Sayce makes full use. It is, however, in its method that the new work mainly differs from its predecessors. The *Higher Criticism and the Monuments* in particular was a criticism of a view of the history and literature of Israel with which Prof. Sayce disagreed; only indirectly could the reader discover his own. *Patriarchal Palestine* covered only a portion of the period which forms the subject of the new work. *The Early History of the Hebrews* narrates the history of the Hebrews, as Prof. Sayce conceives it, from Abraham to Solomon. It is not merely critical of an opposing conception of the history: it is constructive. As such it will be warmly welcomed by those who least admit its accuracy. For the weakness of the opponents of the higher criticism has been that they have hitherto mainly confined themselves to criticism of those from whom they differed; they have abstained from constructive effort; they have not attempted to retell the history themselves. It has, therefore, been impossible to discover how they would solve the problems with the "critical" solution of which they were dissatisfied; whether, indeed, they could write a history of Israel without criticism of the Biblical sources, and if not, whether their criticism would prove itself not

only different from but superior to that of the prevalent school. In Prof. Sayce's *History* we may see how the difficulties are encountered by one of the ablest and most distinguished opponents of the "critical school." The purpose of the present article is to examine Prof. Sayce's principles of historical investigation and the legitimacy of his applications of them as they are to be found in his latest work.

In his preface, the author claims for his *History* a certain uniqueness—that it "is the first attempt to write one from a purely archæological point of view." It is difficult to discover the precise meaning of this claim. It does not mean that the history is based exclusively on archæological material to the neglect of the Biblical literature. Such a claim would be self-condemnatory. For sound historical method demands a thorough examination of all available evidence, whether that evidence have been preserved in its original form on stone or brick or papyrus, or have come down to us written in MSS. Evidence of the former class is no more above criticism than the latter; it may be frequently more valuable, because more frequently contemporary with the events described, but that is all. As a matter of fact Prof. Sayce makes the fullest use throughout his work of the Biblical as well as of the archæological material.

But neither can Prof. Sayce mean that his is the first history to make use of the archæological material. The same material (apart from what has only been discovered since the works in question were published) has been used, for example, by Meyer in his *Geschichte des Alterthums*, and by McCurdy in *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*. True, neither of these works is exclusively a *History of the Hebrews*; but the title is a matter of indifference; Prof. Sayce's history also, in spite of its title, is not exclusively a history of the Hebrews; it is governed by the

maxim laid down in the preface, "for the oriental archæologist Hebrew history has ceased to stand alone."

But again, there is nothing that is peculiar to the oriental archæologist in this attitude to history; all historians equally recognise that the history of no single people can be written as though they were isolated from all other peoples. Consequently the standard histories of the Hebrews have taken account also, so far as existing materials permit, of the history of other nations at times when they were brought into contact with the Hebrews. In this respect, then, the claims to uniqueness for the new history is not made good. It is when we compare the work which we are at present discussing with other special histories of the Hebrews that we begin to discern a difference, which the author inaccurately claims as a uniqueness, in Prof. Sayce's *Early History of the Hebrews*. Rather more than half of this volume is devoted to the periods of the Patriarchs and of the Exodus. If we turn to such a standard work as Wellhausen's *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* we find there no history of the patriarchal age; the history commences with the Exodus and that is but briefly described. Whence arises this difference? From the terms of Prof. Sayce's preface it might be supposed that a whole mass of archæological material relating to the Hebrews had been neglected by Wellhausen, because it conflicted with certain "subjective assumptions." This is not the case. Archæology has as yet supplied no single fact about the Hebrews in general, or about any Hebrew person in particular, prior to the Exodus. Even that event is not archæologically attested. In reading Prof. Sayce's book, therefore, it is essential to bear in mind that no single statement about the Hebrews previous to or at the time of the Exodus is based on archæological evidence; the evidence is derived from the Biblical literature alone. All the statements that are based on archæology refer to other

peoples. Thus the difference between Prof. Sayce's and previous histories of Israel does not arise from the use of different material, but from a different use of the same material. And the value of his history so far as it relates to the Hebrews in the earliest periods stands or falls according as the narratives in Genesis and Exodus are history or legend; for it is from them alone and not from the archæological sources that he derives his information. Consequently the chief point we have to consider is how far Prof. Sayce makes good his right to use these narratives as he does.

We shall best reach this main object by considering first some of Prof. Sayce's arguments in connection with the archæological data. For they are frequently fallacious, and go to prove Prof. Sayce an imperfect logician, and, consequently, a dangerous guide in inference even when trustworthy as a witness to fact. To begin with one or two simple instances. In the priestly account of Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah (Gen. xxiii.), the inhabitants of Hebron are described as Hittites, although in Judges i. 10, the population is clearly described as Canaanites. Now no one questions that the main seat of the Hittites was in Northern Syria. The Biblical references in general as well as the monumental evidence imply this. But the priestly writer again and again refers to the Hittites as resident also at Hebron in the extreme south of Canaan.<sup>1</sup> Is the writer accurate in this respect, and may we safely on his authority accept it as a fact that Hittites, properly so termed, were resident in Hebron in the "time of Abraham"? or is he loosely using "Hittite" as a general term for the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of the land? If the latter view, which has been adopted by

<sup>1</sup> In addition to Gen. xxiii. cf. xxv. 9, 10, xlix. 29 f. and xxvi. 34 f., xxvii. 46, in the light of xxxv. 27.

some writers,<sup>1</sup> be correct, the usage in question forms one of numerous indications that the priestly narrator refers to times very remote from his own. We are not, however, here concerned to defend the correctness of this latter view; but merely to examine whether Prof. Sayce succeeds in refuting it and "confirming" the accuracy of the priestly writer. Here, then, is an instance of his utterly inconclusive reasoning. "Thothmes III., who conquered Syria for the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, tells us that he received tribute from 'the king of the greater Hittite land.' There was then a lesser Hittite land; and as 'the greater Hittite land' was in the north it is reasonable to look for the lesser land in the south" (pp. 55f.). Why in the south? Why not as well in the east or in the further north? This piece of evidence is absolutely irrelevant. It proves nothing, it does not even raise any presumption, in favour of the conclusion that Hebron was inhabited by Hittites in the time of Thothmes III. But suppose it did, what then? We should simply know that Hittites were resident in Hebron some 800 years after the time of Abraham; for the date of Thothmes III. is c. 1500 B.C., of Khammu-rabi, with whom Prof. Sayce makes Abraham contemporary, c. 2300 B.C. The remainder of the very scanty evidence that the Hittites were ever resident in the south of Palestine is drawn from still later sources, and need not therefore detain us. But this is a typical example of Prof. Sayce's frequent practice of combining indiscriminately evidence derived from centuries quite remote from one another. How precarious such an historical method is, how insecure a support such an use of archæological data can afford to the traditional view of Hebrew history, may be realized by reflecting that by the same method of argument we could

<sup>1</sup> e.g. Budde, *Urgeschichte*, p. 347.

prove that at the present day large parts of Spain are in the possession of the Moors, that half of France is subject to England, and that Scotland and England own allegiance to different sovereigns.

Another instance of extraordinarily loose and illogical reasoning is found on page 480: "Archæology has vindicated the authenticity of the letters that passed between Solomon and the Tyrian king (2 Chron. ii. 3, 11)." Such is the statement; and the proof is as follows: "Similar letters were written in Babylonia in the age of Abraham, and the tablets of Tel el-Amarna have demonstrated how frequent they were in the ancient East. As in Babylonia and Assyria, so, too, in Palestine, they would have been preserved among the archives of the royal library." When analysed, this will be seen to consist of two cases of the undistributed middle from which it is not generally supposed that sound conclusions can be formed. Thus the former of the two implicit syllogisms is this: Many people in the ancient East wrote letters to one another; Solomon and Hiram lived in the ancient East;  $\therefore$  Solomon and Hiram wrote letters to one another. From such a syllogism nothing follows. Archæology, therefore, does not even prove that Hiram and Solomon ever wrote to one another; much less does it prove the authenticity of the particular letters recorded by the chronicler. Again, it does not follow from the fact that there were priest-kings in Babylon (p. 219) that high priests must have ruled in early Israel, and consequently archæology does not invalidate the hypothesis that the high priests, as described in the Pentateuch, were a late institution in Israel.

A more complicated instance of fallacious argument is the discussion of Genesis xiv. In the preface Prof. Sayce writes: "Chedorlaomer and Melchizedek had long ago been banished to mythland, and criticism could not admit that archæological discovery had restored them to actual

history" (p. ix.). With regard to this two remarks need to be made. (1) It is inaccurate to say that Chedorlaomer had been banished to mythland. The standard monograph on Genesis xiv. from the critical standpoint is Nöldeke's essay entitled, *Die Ungeschichtlichkeit der Erzählung Gen. xiv.*<sup>1</sup>; in this he argued, for instance, that two of the *Canaanite* kings (Bera and Birsha) were unhistorical, the names being purely fictitious. But he distinctly refused to dismiss Chedorlaomer as unhistorical. Having drawn attention to the fact that in Genesis xiv. 5, 9, 17 Chedorlaomer king of Elam appears as the leader of the invading kings, he continues as follows: "On the ground that we know nothing of such an extended dominion of the inhabitants of Elymais we can of course base no argument whatever against this statement; for that we know far too little of the oldest history of hither Asia" (p. 159). Meyer, writing fifteen years later, definitely accepts Chedorlaomer as an historical personage and his expedition as an historical event. It will be well to quote Meyer's view at length, since it remains, after all that Prof. Sayce has been able to adduce, as tenable a position as it was before; that is to say, no known facts invalidate it. There may or there may not be more of history in Genesis xiv. than Meyer admits; but at present archæology has not shown that there is. This, then, is Meyer's account<sup>2</sup>: "The details of the narrative [in Gen. xiv.] are completely unhistorical: not only are Abraham, and the high priest Melkişedeq who gives him his blessing, no historical persons, the towns also which Kedorla'omer is said to have conquered in Palestine—Sodom, Gomorra, Seboim, etc., and the so-called Rephaim, Zuzim, and Emites never existed. But the name Kudurlagamar is genuinely Elamitic . . . and the Elamite dominion in Syria is

<sup>1</sup> In *Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A.T.* (1869).

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte des Alterthums* (1884), I. pp. 156 f.

attested by an inscription of Kudurmabuk already mentioned. It appears, then, that the Jew who inserted the narrative of Genesis xiv. in the Pentateuch had acquired in Babylon accurate information touching the most ancient history of the country, and, led on by a motive unknown to us, inserted Abraham in the history of Kudurlagamar." These two representative "critical" historians, then, although they consider the narrative as a whole to be unhistorical, do not banish Chedorlaomer to mythland. It cannot be supposed, therefore, that Prof. Sayce will affect the judgment of these writers or those who have followed them by merely proving directly on archæological grounds what they had previously surmised to be historical fact. The recent discovery of actual monumental reference to Chedorlaomer confirms their judgment that the Chedorlaomer and his allies were actual kings; it cannot affect their judgment that many other details in the chapter are unhistorical.

(2) It is quite wide of the mark to say that archæology has restored Melchizedek to history. No monumental reference to Melchizedek has yet been discovered. All that is known of him is derived from the Biblical source. Melchizedek has been "restored (by archæology) to history" in the same way that the authenticity of the letters of Hiram and Solomon have been "vindicated"—by bad logic, but not by archæological evidence. Once again let it be said that no attempt is here being made to prove that Melchizedek was not an actual person, but only to show that Melchizedek can at present only be introduced into history by an historian who abandons an exclusively archæological point of view, and can vindicate on independent grounds the historical character of this section of Genesis xiv.

Such constant reference is made to Genesis xiv., and it is so constantly claimed that archæology has here upset the "critics," that it may be well to state succinctly how

matters at present stand. This chapter records (1) The names of four kings of the East, (2) the names of five Palestinian kings, (3) an invasion of Palestine by the four kings of the East, (4) the defeat by them of the Palestinian kings, (5) the subsequent defeat of the kings of the East by Abraham, and (6) the return of Abraham after his victory and his meeting with Melchizedek. With regard to (2), (3), (4), (5) and (6), archæology has up to the present time supplied no single fact. The possibility of the historical character of (1) which archæology has since fully "confirmed," and (3), which it has not yet "confirmed," was admitted by Nöldeke thirty years ago, and the probability of the same by Meyer fifteen years ago, although these two writers belong to that section of critics who have expressed themselves most sceptically with regard to the historicity of Genesis xiv. in general, and far more sceptically than many other "critics" (*e.g.* Dillmann). Archæology has already justified to a large extent the discrimination of these critics. It has not indeed yet confirmed quite all that the "critics" admitted to be historical; but it has not shown anything to be historical which they judged unhistorical. When Meyer wrote in 1884, the name Chedor-laomer had not yet been discovered on the monuments; he saw however that it was genuinely Elamitic. The name has since been discovered. The identification of Arioch of Ellasar with Eriaku of Larsa was long since admitted; that of Amraphel of Shinar with Khammu-rabi of Babylon, though not quite beyond dispute, is probable, and is generally accepted; and quite recently on fragments discovered by Mr. Pinches, which refer to Khammu-rabi, Eriaku and Kudur-laghghamar, has been found also the name of Tudghula, the equivalent of the Tidal of Genesis xiv. 1). The *recent* advance of archæology then has shown this—that all the four names in Genesis xiv. 1 are genuine, and that all four persons were contemporaries. The remaining

points which Meyer inferred, and which still lack direct archæological confirmation, are these—(1) the alliance of Chedorlaomer and Khammu-rabi, and (2) the invasion of Palestine by Chedorlaomer and the allies. At present archæology only knows of Chedorlaomer and Khammu-rabi (Amraphel) as foes; our only evidence that they were ever allies is Biblical. It is sufficiently probable that they were; there is no difficulty in supposing that two kings once allied became foes; but if our standpoint were "purely archæological," we could not *know* even this. Again, archæology knows of invasions of Palestine by Sargon I. and other Babylonian kings, but not of an invasion by Chedorlaomer. This particular Biblical statement is only "confirmed" by a combination of bad logic and archæology, not by the latter alone. For we have just as little right to argue that because other Elamite or Babylonian kings invaded Palestine, Chedorlaomer *must* have done so also, as that because many kings of England invaded France, any particular one must have done the same. The inference, always unsound, would frequently be false.

It must then be understood that the whole of Prof. Sayce's narrative on pages 24–25 is based solely and simply on the Biblical narrative; there is no shred of archæological support for it. Further, the support which he seeks *from analogy* for the statements in Genesis about Melchizedek (pp. 28, 29) are derived from statements about Ebed-tob, who lived 900 years after the time of Khammu-rabi (Amraphel), and therefore, according to Prof. Sayce, 900 years after Abraham and Melchizedek.

Limits of space prevents the discussion of more than one further instance of Prof. Sayce's fallacious use of archæological material. It will be best to select his treatment of another subject to which he gives prominence by referring to it in his preface—the Babylonian and Hebrew Flood stories (p. vi. f.). With regard to these Prof. Sayce says

(p. 122) : "Nowhere does there seem to be clearer evidence of the documentary hypothesis than in the story of the Deluge," and he himself discussed the stories in question in his *Higher Criticism and the Monuments* (pp. 107 ff.) as one who accepted the usual "critical" analysis into a Jehovistic and an Elohist narrative. But now he assures us that even here "the analysis of the Hexateuchal critics fails to stand the test of archaeological discovery." The assertion is bold; it is confidently made; but it is entirely without justification. Once again, whether the critical analysis be or be not correct, archaeology certainly does not condemn it. What appears to Prof. Sayce proof that the literary analysis cannot be real is the fact that "it is not with the Elohist or with the Yahvist alone that the Babylonian poet agrees, but with the supposed combination of these two documents as we now find it in the book of Genesis" (p. 125). From this fact, which was fully recognised by Prof. Sayce five years ago and was then not held by him to be incompatible with the analysis of the compound Hebrew narrative into two distinct accounts, he now draws the following conclusion:—"If the documentary hypothesis were right, there would only be two ways of accounting for this fact. Either the Babylonian poet had before him the present 'redacted' text of Genesis, or else the Elohist and Yahvist must have copied the Babylonian story upon the mutual understanding that the one should insert what the other omitted.<sup>1</sup> There is no third alternative." These impossible alternatives are *not* the only ones. The following alternative is one which is compatible with the documentary hypothesis, and is in conflict with no single tittle of archaeological evidence. As different stories of the Deluge were current in Babylon, so different stories were

<sup>1</sup> It should be pointed out, since the sentence quoted above might give the contrary impression, that some of the coincidences with the Babylonian story occur in duplicate in Genesis. Thus the attribution of the Deluge to the sins of men occurs in Genesis vi. 11-13 (P), and Genesis vi. 5-8 (J).

current in Palestine; they were derived from Babylon, and many details of the Babylonian stories were retained, though at the same time other details took on a Palestinian colouring or were modified for religious reasons. Different Palestinian forms of the story differed in the details of the original which survived in them and in the particular modifications which they underwent. Two such Palestinian stories, which had in all probability previously assumed literary form, were combined by the final editor of the Pentateuch. This is of course merely one alternative, but it is sufficient to prove that archæology does not shut us up to a choice between two impossible alternatives or else to an abandonment of the literary analysis of the Pentateuch.

The thoroughly unsound conclusion drawn by Prof. Sayce in the body of the book is in no way rendered more justifiable by the interesting discovery to which he alludes in the preface. Dr. Scheil's discovery on tablets from Sippara, dating from about 2000 B.C., of fragments of a Flood story, confirms the conclusion which had generally been accepted before, viz. that the Babylonian Flood story was centuries older than the actual date of the texts (7th century, B.C.) discovered by George Smith. It does little more. Since Prof. Sayce's preface was written Dr. Scheil has published <sup>1</sup> the fragments with a translation. From the colophon it appears that the whole story occupied 439 lines; of these, fragments of about 40 lines are all that have been discovered. To judge from Dr. Scheil's French translation, they do not justify any detailed conclusions whatever: so far from agreeing (as Prof. Sayce asserts) with Smith's text they *differ* from it materially; and certainly they do not disprove the literary analysis of the compound Biblical narrative.

We must now turn directly to Prof. Sayce's use of the Biblical sources of his history.

<sup>1</sup> In *Revue Biblique*, January, 1898, pp. 1-5.

In the first place he sets himself here, as in other recent works, in direct opposition to the "higher criticism." "Over against the facts of archæology," he tells us, "stand the subjective assumptions of a certain school." And, again, "Between the results of oriental archæology and those which are the logical end of the so-called 'higher criticism' no reconciliation is possible, and the latter must therefore be cleared out of the way before the archæologist can begin his work." This is very brave declamation, and its vagueness makes one hope that after all Prof. Sayce is not so thorough-going an opponent as he appears.<sup>1</sup> He does not define the "certain school" whose assumptions are incompatible with the facts of archæology, and it is only with the "logical end" of the higher criticism that archæological results are irreconcilable. Possibly what appears to Prof. Sayce the "logical end" of criticism is a mere bugbear, being in reality as illogical, and therefore as unreal, as we have seen many of his deductions from archæology to be.

It would be wearisome and unprofitable to discuss in detail and at length Prof. Sayce's polemic against criticism in this volume; for it is stale, and has already been refuted. And, moreover, our present purpose is to examine his own method, not his attitude towards those of others. But we must express our surprise that he repeats again and again such unwarrantable statements as that "the dates [assigned by critics to the various strata of the Hexateuch] are largely, if not altogether, dependent on the assumption that Hebrew literature is not older than the age of David" (p. 104), or that the rendering "the baton of the marshal" was adopted in preference to the "stylus of

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above an article by Prof. Sayce has appeared in the *Exp. Times* (April, 1898, pp. 808 f.), in which he allows that "the philological analysis" of Gen. xxvii. has been justified. "We must therefore regard xxvii. 1-45 as an interpolation."

the scribe" (Judg. v. 14) in order to avoid the evidence of the latter rendering that writing was known in the age of Deborah (cf. p. 121). The assumption that literature was of late origin in Israel was not the starting point of the criticism of the Hexateuch; never during the past century of active criticism has it played a considerable part in the argument as to date; and in the standard critical writings of to-day (such, for example, as Dr. Driver's *Introduction*) it plays no part at all. Again, the rendering, "the baton of the marshal," was adopted on the exegetical ground that this instrument would be more serviceable in war than the "scribe's stylus," not for the reason which Prof. Sayce asserts. The Revisers have adopted it. Were they then as a company such devoted adherents to the Higher Criticism? It would be news to learn that they were.<sup>1</sup>

"The late dates assigned to the medley of documents which have been discovered in the Hexateuch are sufficient," Prof. Sayce assures us, "to render the Hexateuch historically valueless for the Mosaic age, and still more for the age before the Exodus" (p. 104). Perhaps he is not far from right. It is certainly difficult to discriminate the kernel of history amid the legendary overgrowth of centuries. According to the critical view large sections of the Hexateuch belong to the 9th century; but comparatively little can be attributed with assurance to a greater antiquity. But has Prof. Sayce any better right than the "critics" to use the Hexateuch as an historically valuable document for the patriarchal and Mosaic ages? What is his own view of the Pentateuch? "No one can study the Pentateuch in the light of other ancient works without perceiving that it is a compilation, and that its author, or authors, has made

<sup>1</sup> On the foregoing and similar instances of Prof. Sayce's polemic I need speak at less length than would be otherwise necessary. They have been fully discussed, and their inaccuracy and futility exposed, by Prof. Driver in the *Guardian*, Nov. 13, 1895, March 11 and April 8, 1896, and the *Contemp. Review*, March, 1894.

use of a large variety of older materials" (p. 129). Prof. Sayce and the critics are at one then in regarding the Pentateuch as a compilation.

Now as to dates and the historical character of various parts. On archæological grounds Prof. Sayce refers some parts of the Hexateuch to pre-Mosaic times (p. 130); but his arguments are, as we have seen, frequently quite inconclusive; he has not proved, nor has archæology shown, that the account of the Deluge as it stands in Genesis is immediately derivative from Babylon, nor that the story of Chedorlaomer's campaign and defeat by Abraham must have been derived from a cuneiform tablet. The same may be said of his statement that "the story of Joseph seems to have been taken from a hieratic papyrus." One especially of the authors of the Joseph story in Genesis shows a very considerable acquaintance with Egypt, just as do some other Hebrew writers, as for example Amos (ix. 5), and especially Isaiah (xix.). But, as Prof. Sayce pointed out in an earlier work, the story of Joseph, in spite of the familiarity with Egypt which it displays, cannot be coeval with the events it records. "Even the use of the title Pharaoh indicates at once the Hebraic character of the history of Joseph, and the fact that its composition in the form in which we possess it cannot have been coeval with the events it records. Pharaoh is the Egyptian Per-âa. . . . But in native and contemporaneous documents the title does not stand alone. Not only the Pharaoh himself, but his subjects also, employed the personal name that belonged to him."<sup>1</sup> Archæology therefore forbids us to follow Prof. Sayce in the view which he now adopts. He has adduced no new facts to justify him in abandoning his earlier position, which was based on archæology. In common with the "critics," Prof. Sayce regards the list of

<sup>1</sup> *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 228.

Edomite kings in Genesis xxxvi. as genuine; but, as he points out (p. 132), it did not find its way into the Pentateuch until a time when "there reigned a king over the children of Israel," *i.e.* until at least three or four centuries after the time of Moses. But not merely has the Pentateuch suffered from the accretion of ancient material. The original composition of large parts of it belongs to periods long subsequent to the Mosaic. For example, part of Genesis x. belongs to the 7th century B.C., or is still later (pp. 131 f.). Some of the narratives about Abraham, "at all events in the first instance, must have resembled the traditions and poems orally recited in Arab lands" (p. 132). "Archæological proof of" their "historical character can never be forthcoming" (p. 133). Numerous passages are pronounced interpolations, amongst others Exodus iv. 20 (p. 165); Exodus xxxiii. 1-5 (p. 202 n. 1); Numbers xv. (p. 207 n. 1, 217 n.); xiii. 21 (p. 216 n. 1).

Not only are many of the narratives of the Pentateuch post-Mosaic; so also is much of the legislation. "We are not to suppose that this legislation has descended to us from the age of Moses without addition and change. Such a belief would be contrary to the history of other religious law-books, or indeed to historical probability" (p. 203). And this, finally, is Prof. Sayce's general judgment on the Pentateuch: "The work has passed through many editions; it is full of interpolations, lengthy and otherwise; and it has probably received its final shape at the hands of Ezra" (p. 134; cf. p. 200 top). According to Prof. Sayce's own standard, a work of the time of Ezra is valueless for the Mosaic and pre-Mosaic ages; it is only the parts which he can prove to be ancient, then, that he has a right to use for the history of those times. The parts which he even attempts to prove ancient are not very extensive, and his proof, as we have seen, is frequently illogical. He gives

us in general no means of distinguishing the original Mosaic elements in the legislation, nor the interpolations from the original Mosaic narratives.

But not only does the worthlessness of the Pentateuch for the early history of the Hebrews follow from Prof. Sayce's view of its date; he quite freely passes direct judgments on it that involve the same conclusion. For instance, he pronounces the very precise chronology of the Pentateuch "worthless" (pp. 142 ff.), and endorses Colenso's conclusion that the numbers attributed to the Israelites at the Exodus are impossible (p. 210); but with that all the numbers contained in (the P sections of) the Book of Numbers also fall to the ground. The "camels" of Exodus ix. 3 are on archæological grounds pronounced unhistorical (p. 169 n. 2). "The conquest of Havoth-jair" recorded in Numbers xxxii. 41 f. "must have taken place long after the death of Moses" (p. 227 n. 1).

His judgments on the Biblical sources for the rest of his history are similar. From the Books of Joshua and Judges we see that "the extent of his [Joshua's] work has been greatly magnified in the imagination of later ages" (p. 246; cf. p. 256 bottom). The compilation of the Book of Judges is subsequent to the first half of the 8th century (p. 281 n. 1; cf. p. 309, 323 n. 2, 329 f.). The books of Samuel are a compilation (p. 365) of narratives sometimes mutually exclusive (p. 372).

To sum up: Prof. Sayce, like every other historian of Israel, has at his command two classes of sources. The one which may be termed archæological consists of inscriptions. These contain no direct references to the Hebrews prior to the Exodus, and only very few and slight references to them prior to the time with which Prof. Sayce's history closes. The other class of sources consists of the Biblical records. These have come down to us in late

compilations. The work of literary analysis, however, has, to the satisfaction of the great majority of scholars, disentangled from these miscellaneous compilations several distinct sources. Internal evidence has then shown that some of these sources are ancient; and in such a narrative as that to which 2 Samuel ix-xx. belongs a historical source of the highest value has thus been restored to us. But Prof. Sayce refuses to accept this analysis. In so doing he has cut the ground from under his own feet. He is left with sources that are on his own showing self-contradictory and full of late interpolations; and at the same time he is without any sufficient means of discriminating late and early sections except archæology comes to his help. His attempt to prove by such help that sections such as the Joseph story or Genesis xiv. are contemporary records has failed. His presumption that the text of the Hexateuch is ancient where it cannot be shown to be modern (p. 134) is illegitimate; for everything in a late compilation can only be legitimately and safely used as late till it is shown to be early. By denying the possibility of literary analysis, Prof. Sayce has deprived himself of the right to regard as ancient any but the particular sections which he can fully prove to be ancient by archæological proof. The sections the antiquity of which he has even attempted thus to prove are comparatively few and small. The sections which, without any attempt to prove them ancient, he has used as ancient and trustworthy are very numerous and extensive. Thus, in spite of its confident tone and its many brilliant speculations, which give the book an interest and power of stimulus which all will gratefully recognise, as a history it can only be pronounced thoroughly unsound; its use of the archæological data is frequently illogical, its use of the Biblical writings without justification. The "logical end" of Prof. Sayce's

method, of his belief that the Pentateuch and other Hebrew books are late compilations, *combined* with his disbelief in the possibility of literary analysis, is, in the present deficiency of archæological evidence, a complete scepticism relative to the Hebrews before the 8th century B.C.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

*Addendum.*—The view of Meyer with regard to the origin of Genesis xiv., referred to on p. 345, has just been reaffirmed by an archæologist. The distinguished Assyriologist, Dr. Hugo Winckler, in his recently published and important essay, *Musri, Meluhha, Ma'in* (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1898, 1), cites that chapter as a product of Jewish literary activity in exile and as based on Babylonian records (p. 40). On the usage of Pharaoh referred to above on p. 351, compare p. 3 of Dr. Winckler's essay.

### *THE OMISSIONS OF THE GOSPEL.*

THE Fourth Gospel closes with a confession of its incompleteness, which is sometimes passed by as if it were a mere flourish of rhetoric, but which is really full of significance and suggestiveness, whether we view it in relation to the narrative of the earthly ministry of Christ, or to our knowledge of the highest truths of religion and life. "There are also many other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books that should be written." The words are more than the colophon of a scribe; they express a truth which the writer had much at heart. Writing at a period in the Church's growth when the story of the Lord's life was already familiar to Christians, so familiar that it was not necessary to repeat the tradition of the earlier Evangelists, St. John set himself, as it would seem, to supplement their account. They had written of the ministry in Galilee; he would write of the ministry in Jerusalem. They had preserved the teaching to the multitude, the proverbs and parables by which the great Prophet taught the people; he would preserve the discourses, mystic and profound, in which the Lord spoke to His chosen friends and companions, in which He had unveiled to them the mystery of His inner life. But all the while the Evangelist is careful to guard against a false impression. His Gospel is a supplement, but it does not pretend to be complete. "Many other signs . . . did Jesus . . . which are not written in this book." The purpose of the book is not to give a full account of that majestic life, but to reveal its secret. "These are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." And at the close of the Gospel the writer repeats, with a touch of Oriental hyperbole: "There are also many



other things which Jesus did, the which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself would not contain the books which should be written." This reserve, this background of unrevealed facts, is most impressive.

### I.

Probably the first thing that the words of St. John suggest to us is the unlikeness of their spirit to the spirit of modern biography. In our day a biography is not considered final or satisfactory unless it gives us every known fact in the life of its hero, large or trivial, significant or unmeaning. Nothing is too sacred, nothing too commonplace, for the professional biographer. From the record of a man's tastes in food to the record of his most private letters, his most impassioned prayers, everything is exposed to the curious public. And it not infrequently happens that this emphasis laid on detail, this greed for facts, entirely defeats the purpose for which biography is intended; that is to say, the presentation of a true portrait of the man. If a biography could ever give an entire and faithful personal history, could record in exact order and in true sequence all the thoughts, the aspirations, the motives, the acts of its hero, then, indeed, there might be justification for the insertion of every minute detail. If all were known, all might be told. But materials are never available for the production of such a book; the world itself could not contain it; certainly no one would have time to read, much less to write it. And thus a biography must of necessity give only a portion of the truth; the skill of the writer is best shown by his command of his materials, by his omissions no less than by his comments, by his grouping of representative incidents and his selection of representative sayings. That was a wise proverb of the Greeks which said that "the half is more than the whole."

An outline sketch often conveys a truer idea than a finished picture. The artist selects those characteristics which seem to him to be typical of the man, and he portrays these alone. For the rest, his picture may not reproduce this or that feature, this or that trick of gesture, with exact precision; but it does reproduce what we wish to remember, what we desire to know.

This is what St. John has done in his Gospel. There is no attempt to tell the story of the earthly ministry of Jesus in its integrity; more than half the book is taken up with the record of the last three weeks in that most eventful and blessed life. And yet how striking is the picture! how deep the impression which the Fourth Gospel has made on the Christian consciousness! Never did a book more fully answer its purpose. The Evangelist does not propose to tell the whole story. He knows that he could never tell it all. But he is content with those representative incidents which fall in with his design. "These are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God."

## II.

A vivid picture! And yet we can hardly fail to be conscious at times of a desire for more knowledge of this Master of men, of whom St. John wrote. Quite true is it that this brief story has affected human life as no other story has affected it. Quite true is it that the Personality of Jesus as Son of God and Son of man is portrayed in the Fourth Gospel as nowhere else. And yet how much is there which has been left untold! "Many other signs" did Jesus. So it must have been; and we are content without any further information about them. The miracles which *are* recorded are the signs of One who displayed His Almighty Power most chiefly in showing mercy and pity; and that is what we most need to know. But in other

particulars the meagreness of the record is truly surprising. How was the boyhood of Jesus spent? We do not know. Only one little incident breaks the silence of the thirty years' preparation for the work of His Ministry. And as the Child among the Doctors passes from our view we too would fain follow with questions. What fashion of man was He, this Strong Son of God who took our nature upon Him? Was He, as the painters have portrayed Him, perfect in the radiant beauty of unsullied manhood? Or is it true, as the early tradition of the Church had it, that there was no beauty in Him that men should desire Him? What were the tones of that Voice which drew men to follow without questioning, without delay? Did the Christ ever smile? Or was He a Man of Sorrows from His youth? And—to go to graver enquiries—men have often asked, How far did the light of His superhuman origin illuminate his natural faculties of knowledge? Did He know all that man may know? Was the book of Nature open to Him without reservation? Or did the great condescension of His Incarnate Life involve a submission to limitations of knowledge and of power? We do not know; we cannot know. Once more, the deeds of Christ are not all recorded. Nor are all His words. These, at least, we may well believe, must have been all significant. In the words of Jesus preserved in the Gospels the world has found its truest wisdom. And yet how few they are! In how little a book could they be printed! How many must remain unknown! We are reminded how extraordinary has been the interest aroused by that little scrap of papyrus found last winter in Egypt, which professes to contain hitherto unrecorded sayings of Jesus Christ. Yes: men desire to know more than the Gospels have told of His words and works. It was this natural desire which led to the compilation in the early centuries of many strange legends about his childhood and youth, His Ministry and

*Resurrection, legends which have affected in no inconsiderable degree our conceptions of Christian doctrine. We remember that such apocrypha were always rejected by the Church, whose judgment is, at the least, the only impartial expression of the Christian consciousness. But we note, as much more remarkable, the fact that St. John, writing at the close of the apostolic age, deliberately refuses even to tell all that he knew.*

### III.

We have seen that reserve may be a necessary condition of faithful portraiture. We have tried at the same time to recognise the craving of Christian hearts for some fuller information about the Christ than that which has been given. The craving is natural; but it is deliberately disappointed by the Evangelists, it was always checked by the Church. There may be a deeper reason for this reserve, this reticence, in the story of the greatest of all Masters—a deeper reason than anything we have thought of yet. For St. John's object was not to draw a picture which men might admire and criticise, but to present to the world the Figure of One who was to be the object of worship. The omissions of the Evangelist remind us of the omissions of the Creeds. In these wonderful confessions of faith there is no mention of any of the episodes in the earthly ministry of Christ. His Incarnation, Nativity, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, are all set forth as the object of Christian faith, the stay of Christian hope; but nothing is said of the miracles of the great Healer, the magic of the Divine words. And this instinct of the Church to lay stress on the supernatural Personality of Him who became man for us rather than on the details of His life when He walked among men, finds expression not only in the Creeds, but in the Christian art of the

Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup> The subjects chosen for illustration by the best mediæval artists are generally the great central facts of the Creeds, not the episodes (if we may call them so) in the Divine life on earth on which modern painters are most apt to let their fancy play. And it may well be that there is a grave danger of missing the greatest message of the Gospels by a too exclusive attention to that earthly ministry, to which the title "The Life of Christ" is sometimes too exclusively appropriated. There may be a warning of this danger in the reserves of St. John. For He of whom the Evangelist wrote was not only the Son of Man. To have told of other deeds of perfect human sympathy or of other words of prophetic wisdom might have only weakened the impression which he desired to leave. Jesus was all that St. John believed and taught. This witness is true. But He was more than lay within the power of His biographer to fathom. For He was God as well as man; and so many things are left unsaid, though what is told is sure.

So does the Church herself teach us about God and His relations to man, here and hereafter. One of whom we knew all could not be the Supreme Himself; He could be no fit object of adoration or worship if His thoughts were to be measured by our thoughts. A true knowledge of God is indeed within our reach, enough for life if not for theory; enough for faith and hope if not for complete intellectual satisfaction here. But as we think of the teachings of nature, of Scripture, of the Creeds, we can

<sup>1</sup> "In mediæval art proper, scenes illustrating the ministry of Christ are comparatively rare. In the windows of King's College chapel nothing is represented between the Temptation, which closes our Lord's infancy, and the Raising of Lazarus, which inaugurates His Passion. The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* omits all the events between the Temptation and the Supper at Bethany. The *Biblia Pauperum* goes straight from the Temptation to the Raising of Lazarus, but after that inserts the Transfiguration" (M. B. James, *Cambr. Ant. Soc. Proc.*, vii. p. 46).

hardly refrain from asking at times, Is this indeed all? How many questions are suggested by every clause in the Creed which must remain unanswered in this present life! How many large gaps are there in our knowledge! How fragmentary it is at best!

This is the truth at the heart of what is called Agnosticism, a truth which no serious person can overlook. What we know is but a fragment of a larger whole. Every student of science is conscious how little that is which he can be said to know in comparison with the great unknown on which his gaze is fixed. And if this be true of Nature, it is much more true of God. What we know is not indeed doubtful; it does not perplex if we recognise its partial character. But what we do not know far transcends that of which we have experience. Such a sense of the unmeasured greatness of God has deeply affected all modern thought; it inspires much that is best in modern literature. Can we doubt that it is this conviction which has brought about the remarkable Renaissance of Idealism that the last ten years have witnessed in these countries? A quarter of a century ago there was an eager desire for positive formulæ; the philosophy of empiricism seemed likely to carry away the best intellect of the time. No one can say that such a spirit is dominant now. Many men call themselves *Agnostics*; but if we press them, we find that they mean nothing more than this, that God and the world are problems too great for man, that the mysteries of life and thought and sin cannot be reduced to any cheap and easy formula.

We seriously mistake if we think that there is no place for such thoughts within the bosom of the Christian Church. The Athanasian Creed itself bids us remember that the Father of all is incomprehensible, not to be measured by man's feeble mind. A God whom we perfectly understood would not satisfy the craving of the

human soul for a Supreme in whom it may place its trust and find its rest. The peace of God of which the apostle speaks is a peace which passeth understanding. It was not the saying of an Agnostic, but of that sober Churchman, Richard Hooker, that "our safest eloquence about God is our silence." No! the Church knows as well as those who refuse her guidance that she is not possessed of the sum of knowledge. But she would teach us at the same time that the partial and imperfect knowledge of Him in whom we live and move and are, which is attainable by man, is not illusory but true; and she proclaims with an increasing confidence and an increasing awe that such knowledge is best revealed in the Person of Him who is the centre of her worship, who gave us our best thoughts about God and man, for He was Himself God and Man in one adorable Person. The Church does not profess complete knowledge. She leaves finished and final theories to the metaphysicians who have, each of them, a complete theory which satisfies no one but its discoverer. Nor does she profess to give us a detailed and exact theory of life. Many problems still torment and vex the curious soul. Still is the question asked by many an ardent spirit, anxious to reduce the world to its own narrow rules, "Lord, and what shall this man do?" But the answer is still the same, stern in its refusal to supply theory, un-failing in consolation and strength as a guide to life, "What is that to thee? Follow thou Me."

This is not, to be sure, the thought prominent in St. John's words at the close of the Gospel. He does not speak of impassable barriers to knowledge, of mysteries not yet disclosed because of the incapacity of our minds to receive them. For what St. John seems to say is that he knew of much which he did not think it fitting to record. Much that we might have understood of the gospel history is not told us. Yes, but that is also true of the know-

ledge of God. It may be that there is much within our powers which we have not yet been found worthy to receive. So it is indeed, and it is part of the discipline by which we are guided, as it opens out the promise of the inheritance to which we are to succeed. It may be part of our discipline that we are kept in intellectual unrest ; part of our discipline lest in unruly pride we come to think that God is a mere creature of our imagination, a conception of which we have entire mastery. But it is also part of our inheritance ; for thus is there ever more and more which we may learn. As the centuries have passed much insight has indeed been gained into the gospel story. The brief incidents have supplied each a precious fragment of biography which it has been the unceasing endeavour of the Christian Church to place in their right relations to the Central Figure. Much has been learnt. It is not too much to say that we know more of the gospel story, that we understand better its proportions, its significance, its reserves, than did the Christians of early ages. Above all we are learning, though slowly, to apply it to the details of our manifold life. And so it is with that deeper knowledge of God, not the knowledge of the historical Christ, but the knowledge of a living Master, knowledge not for theory but for practice, which we desire for ourselves and for those who shall come after us. Something we have learnt through His grace ; and it is the promise and the pledge of the larger inheritance which is to come. And so we repeat once more the closing words of the Gospel, "there be many other things which Jesus did," with reverence and with hope. With reverence, as we perceive that our knowledge is but in part ; with eager hope as we look for the day when we shall know even as also we have been known.

J. H. BERNARD.

## DIFFICULT PASSAGES IN ROMANS.

### IV. THE DEATH OF CHRIST.

IN my last paper we found in Romans i. 16, 17, and again by emphatic repetition in chapter iii. 21, 22, a clear statement of St. Paul's fundamental doctrine of righteousness through faith. In the verses (24-26) following the second of these passages, we shall now find the fullest statement in the New Testament of another characteristic element of the Gospel, viz., Justification through the Death of Christ.

Between these two great doctrines falls, on the pages of this epistle, a momentary shadow, a continuation of the deep shadow extending from chapter i. 18 to iii. 20 and separating the two statements of the first doctrine. St. Paul supports his assertion that a righteousness of God has now been manifested for all that believe by saying that between man and man *there is no difference*. The same words occur again in the same connection in chapter x. 12: "for there is no difference of Jew and Greek." The aorist *ἡμαρτον* is correctly rendered by A.V. and R.V. "all have sinned." This is one of the many passages which illustrate the difference between the Greek aorist and the English preterite. This latter, we use only for some event or events or condition definitely separated from the present time. The Greek "indefinite" tense describes any past event or state whether belonging only to the past or continuing to the present. The word before us covers the whole sinful action of men from the first transgression to the moment of writing.

The word *δόξα* denotes in classical Greek an opinion, i.e. a subjective view of some one or something. From this neutral meaning easily arose that of a good opinion, appreciation, admiration. In this sense it became the constant equivalent of the Hebrew word כָּבוֹד, denoting weight or

anything which gives importance in the eyes of others. The common phrase "glory of Jehovah" in the Old Testament denotes a supernatural splendour revealing the presence and grandeur of the God of Israel. In a similar sense the words *δόξα Κυρίου* are used in Luke ii. 9 to describe the supernatural brightness surrounding the angels who announced the birth of Christ.

The words *δόξα* and *δοξάζω* are often used in the New Testament to describe the splendour awaiting the righteous. So Romans ii. 7, 10: "For those who by way of perseverance in good work seek for *glory* and honour . . . there will be *glory* and honour and peace." Also chapter v. 2: "we exult in hope of *the glory of God*." Similarly chapter viii. 17, "if we suffer together in order that we may be also *glorified* together." And verses 18, 21: "the *glory* about to be revealed for us . . . the liberty of the *glory* of the children of God." This is the simplest meaning of the phrase *glory of God* in the passage before us, as in chapter v. 2. It is the splendour with which God will cover His faithful servants, and which as reserved for them in heaven is in a real sense already theirs. It is, as we read in chapter ii. 10, a reward of well doing. Consequently they who *have sinned fall short of it*. They are destitute of the future splendour awaiting the righteous.

Grammatically, verses 24-26 are a participial clause subordinate to the finite verbs in verse 23. Yet indisputably these verses contain the chief matter of the sentence. That this is put in a dependent clause, is no difficulty. The Greek language groups in participial clauses of one long sentence ideas which in other languages would be expressed by finite verbs and separate sentences, in order thus to show their mutual relation. This grouping of ideas is very frequent with St. Paul. So especially Ephesians i. 3-14, where again the chief matter is contained in a series of dependent clauses. In the passage before us St. Paul

introduces a new and important doctrine, viz. justification through the death of Christ, for rhetorical reasons, as a proof that all have sinned and thus fall short of the glory of God. The costliness of the salvation proves how far man had fallen.

No other exposition except the foregoing is possible here. In the absence of any main assertion, or any conjunction, it is most difficult to take verse 24 as beginning a new sentence. And it is equally difficult to join verse 24 to verse 22, making verse 23 a parenthesis. Moreover, as we have seen, these expedients are needless.

The proof here given that all have sinned and are destitute of the splendour which God gives to His servants is that men are justified as a free gift by God's undeserved favour, *δωρεάν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι*. For the freeness of the gift reveals the unrighteousness of the persons thus justified. And this is still further revealed in the infinite cost of their justification, which St. Paul goes on to expound.

This free justification comes to men, as the means by which it is brought about, *through the redemption which is in Christ Jesus*. The word translated *redemption*, ἀπολύτρωσις, and its simpler cognates, λυτρόομαι and λύτρον, and the still simpler word λύω, denote always a loosing or liberation. The word λύτρον is the ordinary term for the means or price of liberation. In classical Greek the verb λυτρόομαι is the ordinary word for liberation of captives by payment of a ransom. In the LXX. it is frequently used for the liberation of those whom the Mosaic law claimed, but released for a price or a substitute. For instance, God claimed the firstborn, but waived His claim on payment of five shekels each: Exodus xiii. 13, Numbers xviii. 15. Good examples are also found in Leviticus xxvii. 27-33, Numbers iii. 46-51. But, like most words which convey two ideas, it is sometimes used when only one of them is present, in this case always the idea of liberation. So

Exodus vi. 6, "I will redeem you with a stretched-out arm"; and chapter xv. 13, "the people which Thou hast redeemed." For here there is no thought of price or cost.

It is at once evident that justification, which is practically pardon, involves liberation from punishment. It involves therefore redemption from the consequences of sin, from the bondage to sin to which "God gave up," as we read in Romans i. 24, 26, 28, those who hold back the truth in unrighteousness. Touching this liberation, we now seek further information. Especially we ask whether, as in most other cases in which the word *redemption* is used, it is brought about by payment of a price.

This liberation takes place *in Christ Jesus*. This and the shorter phrase *in Christ* occur in the letters of St. Paul some eighty times, and are a conspicuous feature of his thought and expression. They are also peculiar to him, except 1 Peter iii. 16, Jude 1, the frequent phrase "abide in Me" in John vi. 56, xv. 4, etc., and "abide in Him" in 1 John ii. 6, etc. All these forms of speech imply that Christ is, in some real and important sense, the environment of the Christian life. That this thought is, under different modes of expression, common to the writings of St. Paul and St. John, and in the New Testament almost peculiar to them, is an important fact of New-Testament Theology.

The statement that this liberation from the penalty and bondage of sin takes place *in Christ*, i.e. within His personality, needs further elucidation: and this is at once given. St. Paul adds, *whom God set forth as a propitiation*.

The word rendered *propitiation*, whatever its precise meaning, stands related to the verb *ἱλάσκομαι*, found in Hebrews ii. 17 and (in slightly different form) very frequently in the LXX., e.g. Leviticus iv. 20, 26, 31, 35, v. 6, 10, 13, 18, to describe the effect of sacrifice: "the priest

shall propitiate for them, and the sin shall be forgiven them." It is very unfortunate that in R.V., as in A.V., equivalent words are rendered in the Old Testament *atonement* and in the New Testament *propitiation*. The identity of these terms should have been noted, at least in the margin. The form of the word *ἱλαστήριον* suggests the instrument by which propitiation is made. It is frequent in the LXX. as a technical term for the mercy-seat covering the ark of the covenant. It was so used probably because on that mercy-seat was sprinkled, on the day of atonement or propitiation, the blood with which the high priest made propitiation for himself and the people. In the same sense the word is used in Hebrews ix. 5. But in the passage before us nothing suggests the mercy-seat; and it is not easy to see what thought this reference would add to the sentence. On the other hand, the root idea of the word, viz. propitiation, links the blood shed on the cross with the blood of the Jewish sacrifices. This meaning, the word certainly conveys: and it is the only meaning suggested by it. This being so, the question whether *ἱλαστήριον* is a substantive or adjective is of little moment. In the latter case, we must supply in thought the word *sacrifice*: in the former, we must interpret it, although perhaps without example elsewhere, according to the common significance of its termination, as the instrument of propitiation. It differs from the simpler form *ἱλασμός* in 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10, chiefly in making conspicuous the idea of instrumentality.

God *set forth* Christ as a propitiation. The first syllable of *προέθετο* may denote either time or place: *earlier than* or *in front of*. In the former sense, both verb and substantive are common to denote a purpose, a setting before oneself something which we intend afterwards to do. And this is their only use in the New Testament, except that in Matthew xii. 4 and its parallels the substantive is used

for the loaves set publicly day by day on the table of shew-bread. But nothing here suggests a purpose. On the other hand, the local sense gives a good meaning. Before the eyes of men and angels and before His own eyes, God publicly set Christ as a means of propitiation.

That justification is *through faith*, St. Paul has already taught. And evidently justification covers the head of the sinner from the punishment due to his sin, as did the propitiation wrought by the priest in the Mosaic sacrifices. In other words, this evangelical propitiation becomes effectual to each one when he believes. It is therefore a *propitiation through faith*.

The words *in His blood* may be joined either to *faith* immediately foregoing or to *set forth as a propitiation*. The phrase *πίστις ἐν* is not frequent with St. Paul or in the New Testament. Moreover nowhere else is the blood of Christ represented as an object of faith, although indisputably the faith which saves has regard to His death. On the other hand, in the sacrificial ritual of the Old Testament, propitiation is closely connected with the shedding and sprinkling of blood. And this connection of thought gives good sense here. God set Christ before the eyes of men and angels covered with His own blood to be a propitiation through faith, *i.e.* in order that all who believe in Him may escape the punishment due to their sins. The word *blood* suggests the violent death of Christ. The word *set forth* suggests the conspicuousness of a victim hanging on a cross.

Then follows, in this great passage, a statement of the aim in view of which God set forth Christ as a propitiation in His own blood; and this is followed by a further ultimate aim. God gave Christ to die in order to *demonstrate His own righteousness*. This aim is made emphatic by conspicuous repetition. The ultimate aim is that God may be *Himself righteous and a justifier* of him who has faith in

Christ, *i.e.* in order to harmonize with His own justice the justification of the believer. These proximate and ultimate aims of the death of Christ demand now our most careful attention.

The word *ἔνδειξις* denotes a pointing to something within, an indication or proof. *His righteousness* denotes, as in verse 5, the administrative justice of God by which He "will judge the world." In other words, God set Christ conspicuously before the eyes of men, covered with His own blood, in order to afford proof that in His administration of the world He is just.

The words following, to end of verse 25, give a motive for this demonstration of the justice of God, *viz.* His action in days gone by. During long ages He passed by sins, *i.e.* He did not at once execute due punishment. He did not pardon sin; but He seemed to overlook it: *πάρεσις*, not *ἄφεσις*. And this was done *in the forbearance of God*. Now, to allow sin to go unpunished, obscures the justice, and compromises the character, of a ruler, and thus injures the state. The welfare and honour of all concerned demand the speedy and full punishment of crime. St. Paul here asserts that God gave Christ to die in order to demonstrate His justice, in view of a tolerance of sin in the past which seemed to obscure it.

After stating this motive of God's action in the past, St. Paul states again His purpose *in the present season*, *i.e.* in the great era in the Kingdom of God now beginning. The repetition calls marked attention to the necessity of vindicating His justice.

The ultimate aim of the death of Christ is then stated. God gave Christ to die not only in order to manifest His justice but in order that He might be Himself actually just. This implies that, apart from the death of Christ, to justify believers would have been inconsistent with justice. And this we can understand. Justice ever demands to be con-

spicuously manifested. Whatever obscures a ruler's justice defeats the ends of justice. The justice or righteousness of God is the divine attribute underlying the sequence of sin and punishment. It is all-important for the good of the state that this sequence, and therefore the justice of God, be ever conspicuous. The appropriateness of this exposition renders needless any other less simple meaning of the words *that He may be Himself righteous*, such as "that He may be seen to be righteous." This meaning would make this last clause of the sentence mere tautology. The exposition given above makes it the all-important culmination of an important sentence.

The phrase τὸν ἐκ πίστεως describes a man whose character and position are derived from faith. So chapter iv. 16, τῷ ἐκ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ: also Galatians iii. 7, 9. Similarly Romans x. 6: "the righteousness which is from faith." The genitive Ἰησοῦ describes the personal object of justifying faith. In a similar connection, in chapter iv. 16, the genitive describes the believing person: "the faith of Abraham."

The passage before us asserts the important truth, not elsewhere in Holy Scripture so clearly stated, that the death of Christ stands in definite relation to the justice of God, that it was needful as a means of harmonizing with the divine attribute the justification of believers; or, in other words, that justice forbade the pardon even of those who believe in Christ apart from some such manifestation of the justice of God as was given in the death of Christ. This is the fullest exposition in the Bible of the need for the death of Christ in order to the salvation of men.

In close harmony with the above teaching, we find in chapter vii. 4 the death of Christ in conspicuous relation to the Law of God, of which His justice is the animating principle. The readers are there compared to a woman bound by the law to a husband; but afterwards set free

from that bondage by the hand of death, and then united to another. "Also ye have been put to death to the law by means of the body of Christ, in order that ye may become another's." The same is involved in the phrase "died to law" in Galatians ii. 19. A remarkable parallel is found in Hebrews ix. 16, 17, where the New Covenant (*ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη*) is compared to a testament or will (*διαθήκη*) which becomes a valid legal instrument only by the death of the testator. This implies that the death of Christ gave legal validity to the New Covenant, which can mean only that it removed a legal difficulty in the way of our justification. These passages are an important confirmation of Romans iii. 26, as above expounded.

The nearest approach in the Bible to the teaching which connects the death of Christ with the justice and law of God, peculiar there to St. Paul and Hebrews ix. 16, 17, is perhaps 1 John i. 9: "He is faithful and righteous in order that He may forgive us our sins and cleanse us from all unrighteousness." For in verse 7 we read, "the blood of Jesus His Son cleanseth us from all sin." It is thus related to the term *justification* used by St. Paul, and by him only, to describe the pardon of sins; and to the term *adoption*, derived from Roman law, and used by St. Paul, and him only, to describe the filial relation to God into which the justified are received. This legal aspect of the Gospel of Pardon is a great contribution, amid many others, made to Christian thought by the pupil of Gamaliel.

From this point we will review our exposition of verses 24-26. If Christ died, as we have just seen that St. Paul teaches, in order to harmonize with the justice of God the justification of believers, then was His death absolutely needful for their salvation. For God cannot possibly be unjust: and He would not have given His Son to die in order to save men if a less costly means of salvation had been sufficient. We therefore infer that had not Christ

died for us we must have died. If so, His death may be correctly described as the price paid for the salvation of those who put faith in Him. For every costly means used to obtain an end not otherwise attainable may be appropriately so described. And this is a correct and forceful mode of expressing the absolute necessity, for the end in view, of this costly means. We have seen that in all cases the word *redemption* implies liberation, and usually liberation by purchase. It is now evident that in the death of Christ there takes place a redemption in this latter sense. He is, as expounded above, the ransom-price of our salvation.

The result thus gained by exposition of the passage before us explains abundant teaching of various writers of the New Testament. So 1 Corinthians vii. 23, "ye were bought with a price"; Galatians iii. 13, "Christ bought us off from the curse of the law, having become on our behalf a curse, as it is written, Cursed is everyone that hangeth on timber." Similarly 1 Peter i. 18 f., "not with corruptible things, silver or gold, were ye redeemed from your useless manner of life handed down from your fathers, but with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even of Christ." Also Revelation v. 9: "Thou wast slain and didst buy (us) for God with Thy blood." Similar teaching is attributed to Christ in Matthew xx. 28, Mark x. 45: "to give His soul (or life) a ransom for many."

This language is now explained. We need not ask to whom the ransom was paid. It was paid to no one. The phraseology before us is simply an appropriate and forceful mode of expressing the infinite costliness of our salvation, and the absolute necessity of the death of Christ as the only means by which it could be brought about. This necessity is implied in abundant teaching of various writers of the New Testament. Wherein it lies is explained only by St. Paul, chiefly in the passage before us, in which it is traced

to an essential element of the nature of God, viz. His justice. This is confirmed by other passages in which the death of Christ is placed in relation to the Law, in which the justice of God finds expression.

We now understand also in what sense "God set forth Christ as a propitiation through faith, in His blood. Just as the blood shed on the brazen altar secured for guilty men forgiveness for certain specified faults, so through the death of Christ on the cross do they who put faith in Christ obtain forgiveness for all their sins. Thus Romans iii. 26 explains verse 25. It also explains Hebrews ii. 17, where Christ is said to have become like us "in order to propitiate the sins of the people"; and 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10, where He is said to be "a propitiation for our sins." This phraseology connects the death of Christ with the Mosaic sacrifices.

The teaching just expounded also explains the prominence given to the death of Christ throughout the New Testament as the means of man's salvation, and the occasional assertion of its necessity for this end. So Matthew xvi. 21: "He must needs go away to Jerusalem and suffer many things and be killed. For, if the justice of God made needful the death of Christ for the justification of believers, this necessity must have been absolute. Thus Romans iii. 26 is a key to the whole teaching of the New Testament about the death of Christ.

It is right to say that this explanation needs to be itself explained. And this further explanation is not given in the Bible. It is however legitimate matter for reverent research. The analogy of human government helps us to understand that the justice of God forbade the pardon of the guilty by mere prerogative. When the guilty goes unpunished, the innocent suffers. We despise a ruler who does not carry out the penalty of the law. For such clemency is ruin to the state. But this analogy leaves

untouched the more serious question how the death of an innocent victim removes the difficulty which forbids a righteous ruler to pardon the guilty. To attempt an answer to this question, is beyond the scope of the present paper. But we notice that frequently the consequences of sin fall upon innocent ones closely related to the sinner, that this must be by the ordinance of God, and that it reveals the inevitable and awful connection of sin and suffering; that he who died for men is their Creator and Judge; and that before He died He entered into closest possible relation to them as a sharer of the flesh and blood on which rests conspicuously the curse of sin. We need not wonder that the punishment due to them fell upon Him. Indisputably the death of Christ for man's sin reveals, as nothing else could, the infinite evil of sin and the inevitable sequence of sin and suffering. It thus serves a moral purpose. And it vindicates the character of God against an apparent tolerance of sin inconsistent with justice. No one can now say that God's long forbearance and His pardon of sin in Christ are in any way prompted by indifference to the essential and tremendous evil of the sin which He forgives.

However incomplete this explanation may seem to be, the fact is now before us that the greatest of the immediate followers of Christ taught that the death of Christ as the means of man's salvation was rendered needful by the justice of God, and that it removed a barrier to the pardon of sin having its root in this divine attribute. To have this issue put plainly before us, as it is in this passage, which in this paper I have endeavoured to expound, is an immense gain. We shall do well to make it a starting point for all further research touching the relation between the death of Christ and the salvation of men.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

### WAS JOB AN AGNOSTIC?

IN this paper we purpose simply and solely to treat of the Book of Job as a reflective poem with a view to discover how far it may be said to contain a kind of devout agnosticism, and to what extent this differs from typical forms of agnostic thought in the present day. For this purpose it is not necessary to enter upon questions affecting textual criticism, or the authorship, date, and character of composition of the book. Accepting on this head the main outcome of recent researches by recognised authorities, we will address ourselves to the task of carefully marking its philosophical bearings in their modern application. For here we have, undoubtedly, a discussion of "the most obscure and fascinating problem that ever puzzled and tortured the human intellect." The cosmopolitan character of the book, in representing its hero as a type of humanity, has been more than once noticed, as well as its resemblance to the Prometheus, Hamlet, and the Faust, as world-poems, suggesting, if not satisfactorily solving, problems which at all times have occupied thinking minds all over the world. Hence, too, its permanent interest and its attraction for such men as Goethe, Carlyle, and Tennyson, the last of whom speaks of it as "the greatest poem, whether of ancient or modern times."

Thus much may be premised before we proceed: that the book belongs to the wisdom-literature of the Hebrews, that it was written at a time when national misfortunes produced gloomy broodings on the strange vicissitudes of the individual life as well as sad reflections on the mystery of national calamities that then gave rise to doubt concerning the moral government of the world and discussions on the principles of Divine justice; that

though it is possible that such thoughts may have engaged reflecting minds in the latter days of King Solomon's reign, they reached a fuller maturity as time went on, gathering strength with the increased misfortunes of the Jewish people in their exile. We may also accept, provisionally at least, the theory that in the didactic poem before us we possess a philosophical treatment of one of those "ancient stories of men that pleased God," mentioned in the prologue of Ecclesiasticus somewhat in the same way as the Prometheus and the Faust are later adaptations of classic legends or the mediæval *Volksbuch* to meet the requirements of advanced thought. The problem suggested in the Book of Job is the suffering of the righteous. What is the conclusion arrived at by its author? Does it actually tell us in its final outcome that we know nothing at all, and cannot arrive at any satisfactory solution whatever, and that therefore it is useless to try and fathom the secret of the Most High, that we must simply submit to the Divine decree without asking any more questions? That seems to be the opinion of the most competent of modern critics. But if so, Job was undoubtedly an agnostic in this sense of the word. On these grounds he puts to silence his friends who think they know in falling back for a solution on that retribution theory which it is Job's aim to demolish, whilst he himself is silenced by the voice of God in the Theophany compelling him humbly to acquiesce in ignorance about such matters, because they are far beyond his mental range, that the righteous man, when suffering wrongfully, must yield to the unfathomable will of God. In fact the process of purification through suffering has apparently this end in view, that is, as Professor Budde says in the Introduction to his recently published Commentary, purification from intellectual or spiritual pride which constitutes his danger.

The object of the trial is not so much to prove Job's unwavering fidelity, or to indicate his disinterested piety, as to bring about humble submission to ignorance as to the reasons of God's dealings. It is this which brings him into a close proximity to modern agnostics, who also speak of man, his place in the universe, and his destiny as an insoluble riddle.

Dr. Dillon, in his book on *The Sceptics of the Old Testament*, represents Job as saying of man that he "knows really nothing, never can know anything, about the origin and reason of things. They are absolutely unknowable" (page 63).

This statement requires examination. We may ask, then, in the first place, how far the Book of Job in its negative criticism controverts the false optimisms of that age, and see what support it gives to our modern agnostics following the same lines. For here, as Renan remarks, we have a human document in this "sublime dispute," in which the sufferings and the doubts of all ages may find their most eloquent expression.

We may, in the next place, consider this unique poem from its positive side as an attempt to raise the Jewish conception of morality from the low mechanical retribution theory to a higher level in order to see what resemblance it bears to similar attempts of modern agnostics in their opposition to utilitarian ethics and their attempt to vindicate the principle of "disinterested goodness."

This will prepare the way for considering, in the last place, the main question, namely, how far the humble confession of ignorance with which the Book of Job closes bears any resemblance to the following description of agnosticism given by Mr. Frederic Harrison (*Fortnightly Review* for January, 1889, p. 145):

"The agnostic proper is one, who, having honestly sought to know, acquiesces in ignorance, and avows it as the best practical solution of a profound but impenetrable problem."

And by "agnostic proper" must be understood every variety of modern agnosticism—the thorough-going agnostic, who, like Mr. Leslie Stephen, speaking of "the religion of all sensible men," tells us that "the whole mass of human belief may be regarded as a chaotic nebula surrounding a solid nucleus of definitely established truth"; the scientific agnostic, who takes his stand with Huxley's formula, "*ignoramus et ignorabimus*," in reference to the last problems of existence; the pessimistic agnostic, who, like the late Mr. Greg, dwells despondingly on the "Enigmas of Life"; and the optimistic agnostic, who, like the late Mr. S. Laing, cheerfully repeats the dictum, "we know not anything." As far as we are here concerned all these come under one or other of the heads we have given above, and we will begin with the first and inquire: (1) Have we really in this book "the most audacious piece of rationalistic philosophy which has ever yet been clothed in the music of sublime verse"? Is it simply an attempt to demolish the dogmatic optimisms or old-world truisms of Job's friends to prove that in this best of worlds—

"Whatever is, is right"?

The writer of the book of Job wants to prove the contradiction between the old formula about rewards and punishments, and the fact in his own case, and by implication in that of others, of innocency and righteousness not meeting with their due reward, but on the contrary suffering for no just cause, that, therefore, all cannot be right. In this way must be understood the dramatic discomfiture of the friends of Job in using this

argument about deserts. In this sense, too, one of them, deviating inconsistently from the rigid foundation of the theory itself, reminds Job: "God exacteth, (remitteth, Heb.) of thee less than thine iniquity (deserveth)" (Job xi. 6), which contradicts the *quid pro quo* theory, and then immediately proceeds to say in the language of agnosticism: "Canst thou by searching find out God?" In the same way Elihu, the genuineness of whose discourse as a component part of the book is now again in favour among such commentators as Budde, gives expression to a similar agnostic thought, "we cannot find Him out" (xxxvii. 23). Those passages in which the hero of the poem is represented as arraigning the Deity before the bar of unalterable justice are intended to show the hopelessness of the attempt of Job's friends to vindicate "the law of God" in the old-fashioned way. In so doing they only aggravate the conflict between the moral conscience and the consciousness of unmerited calamities on the part of Job. This produces exasperation in his mind, and tempts him to a denial of Divine justice, though all the while he clings to his belief in the living God. As a devout Hebrew he appeals from the apparently unjust adversary to the Divine Advocate to judge his cause; in his pathetic struggles against doubt he demands a Divine explanation to reassure his faith. But happen what will, "yet shall the righteous hold on his way" (xvii. 9). And as the shadows of doubt grow deeper still: "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him"—words which, as Delitzsch has pointed out (*in loco*), have been the consoling stay of many pious souls in their last moments, notably so in the case of Grace Aguilar, whose last movement was to spell out with her emaciated finger these words of Job. Then, in the final development of the tragedy, and after the outbreak of the storm, symboliz-

ing the inner storms of a mind perplexed and moved in its deepest depths of doubt, gleams of sunlight return, and faith humiliated and prostrate before the inscrutable Divinity returns with a rush of repentance and rests on Him who judgeth righteously, and this without any real enlightenment as to the how and when of the final rectification. The Theophany does not unlock the secret, and the epilogue shows that the writer does not absolutely reject the popular retribution theory as a whole. True, the three cycles of argument are intended to show the untenableness of that narrow view of it professed by Job's friends. But the general outcome of the controversy is this, that there is a positive value in the suffering of the innocent as a test of disinterested worth, intended, moreover, to elevate and purify the character. Therefore the leading idea of the book remains the same as that of the Chochma literature throughout, that to fear God and keep His commandments is the whole duty of man. But this implies a positive assertion of the existence of God, and the inviolability of His Divine Law. "The object of the book of Job," says Goethe in a notice of Lavater's Sermons, is to prove incontestably that the ways of "Divine Providence are inscrutable, and yet in their final consummation admirable."

This is a very different view from that which represents the writer of the Book of Job as a destructive critic of current views. His aim is rather to modify and correct the dominant theory, and to attack false or dishonest methods of defending it. It teaches resignation when only a partial revelation of Divine designs is vouchsafed, not a resignation of agnostic despair.

(2) This leads to the next point, *i.e.* the ethical significance of suffering as one of the solutions of the problem. Here it may be as well briefly to compare the Hebrew with the Greek drama of Æschylus and the modern tragedy of

the Faust, in both of which, as in Job, we are shown how—

“Calm wisdom gained by sorrow profits much.”

A further comparison will discover a curious correspondence between these and the most recent agnostic attempts to evolve a higher morality from the mystery of evil in the cultivation of a spirit of self-renunciation as the best method for solving the dark riddle of existence.

Job has been called the Hebrew Prometheus. In both we have angry cries of distress, loud and long, protestations of injured innocence. But whilst Job all along maintains a sturdy defence of his own uprightness as contrasted with the apparent injustice of the God he serves, this never degenerates into the temerity of defiance we note in the speeches of Prometheus. And whereas Prometheus suffers as the champion of the human race at war with Jupiter, Job suffers as the advocate of Divine righteousness, and makes his appeals throughout to the supreme Court of Justice of Him who is invisible and unfathomable. The final outcome in the case of both is the same: “Pain is gain”; “Sweet are the uses of adversity.” The lesson taught is the duty of humble submission in the consciousness of speculative limitations. Both heroes reach a higher level of spiritual experience by the purifying influences of humble trust, a broader view of duty opens before them to do what is right and to bear what seems wrong, since man is incapable with his feeble grasp to hold the balance of Divine justice, or to make himself the arbiter of the law of life.

The resemblances between Job and the Faust are still more remarkable, though partly explained by the acknowledged indebtedness of Goethe to the Book of Job. These are all the more important for us here since the Faust contains the creed of the nineteenth century. Both poems

deal with a soul struggle in which the mind and conscience are at war with the facts of existence and in which intellectual errors and faults of feeling find their correction and culminate in the final reconciliation of the conflict. The Faust, however, differs from Job in many ways. Its scientific agnosticism ends in intellectual despair and a consequent moral catastrophe. The moral conflict in Job's mind is brought to an end by the avowed ignorance of nature.

But what concerns us here is the tendency to agnostic thought in both. The agnosticism in the Faust finds its best expression in the well-known lines containing the confession of faith, where the hero, speaking of God, says:

"Who dare name Him?  
Who dare confess Him?  
Who dare profess and say  
I believe in Him?"

Also in the expression, "Feeling is all." It is the mystic conception of the unknown source of all being, inspiring love and awe, but defying intellectual apprehension, which lies at the root of present day agnosticism. It lacks the moral earnestness and spirituality of Job's theism. Modern agnosticism, in relinquishing the attempt of arriving at any solution of the problem, resigns itself to work on till the death knell strikes; the agnosticism of Job simply recognises the futility of the attempt of penetrating into the arcana of Deity, and takes comfort in the thought that in the end the Judge of all the world, of whose existence it never doubts, will do right.

(3) In the last place, how far does Job's confession of ignorance resemble the agnostic creed, as such, in the present day?

To Job, too, God is the "Infinite Unknown," and so far scientific agnosticism finds some support in this book of

"sapiential philosophy." He too fails to understand, like J. S. Mill in his *Essays on Religion*—the cruelty of nature on the supposition that its Author is all-powerful and all-good. In some places the tone of complaint at this unexplained mystery is profoundly sad when the Author of the Book of Job dwells on the world's sorrow, the mystery of pain, the strange vicissitudes of life, the dark curtain which hides Sheol (ix. 22; xiv. 13-15). But in vain do we look in this "Divine Comedy" of the ancient Hebrews for those expressions of agnostic helplessness and hopelessness when dwelling on the last problems of life and mind.

Job's agnosticism differs, then, from its modern counterpart in its pronounced Theism, its teleological conceptions of the Cosmos and human destiny, though in all these—most of all in the last—it fails to attain to anything like the Christian standpoint.

It does not, indeed, make clear statements on the Divine attributes in the theological sense of the term; it settles no difficulties about the Absolute and the Infinite philosophically. It only recognises a God high above nature, and far beyond the grasp of human comprehension. On the other hand, it does not rest satisfied with a mere confession of ignorance, as if this were the finality for human reason to rest on, which really amounts to a virtual worship or culture of the Unknowable, as when Herbert Spencer tells us that "it is alike our highest wisdom and our highest duty to regard that through which all things exist as the Unknowable."

In fact, the intellectual abasement produced by the stupendous grandeur and sublimity of nature fills the writer of the Book of Job with awe and reverence towards the Divine Being. He acknowledges in full the existence of God as the Divine Architect of the universe, though the plan is beyond his grasp. His sentiments are

best expressed in the well-known lines of a modern poet—

“Ah! sure within him and without,  
Could his dark wisdom find it out,  
Then must he answer to his doubt.”

His teleological views correspond to his theistic creed. There is a meaning and a purpose in the scheme of things, which, however, it is impossible for mortals to discover. “Where is wisdom to be found,” that higher wisdom which shall unlock the riddle to the universe? That is Job’s outcry. But it does not induce him to stand off in the proud self-consciousness of his limitations to renounce further research or give up intellectual inquiry. His hope and endeavour is to know in part, if he cannot know all, and this is the standpoint of many thoughtful writers, even among agnostics of a less pronounced type. As a French writer of this description puts it: “Our ignorance is great enough; there is no need for indulging ourselves in exaggerating it; it is not of sufficient value to cultivate it. It is an imperfection which we ought to diminish. . . . The unknown cannot be *known* as the Unknowable.”<sup>1</sup>

Again, we have not in the Book of Job a reasoned Theodicy, but no more have we here a form of agnosticism excluding it, but ending in itself. As to the question of man’s ultimate fate, no doubt a dark cloud hovers, as Reuss says, over the portal of the future; the “blessed hope of everlasting life” has no resting-place in the pensive soul of Job.<sup>2</sup> There is at least a gleam of hope, that is of hope of a final vindication, but nothing more. Indeed, the outlook is not so gloomy as it would be if we adopted the translation of chapter xlii. 6 by Bickell in his earlier

<sup>1</sup> F. Pulhan: *Le Nouveau Mysticisme* (1891), p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> See Ch. vii. 9 et seq., x. 20 seq., xiii. 28 seq., xiv. 14, xvii. 11 seq.; also compare Dr. Hermann Preiss, *Zum Buche Hiob*, a reprint from *Theologische Studien und Skizzen aus Ostpreussen*, p. 21.

attempt as far back as 1882, and again in his latest in 1894, where it reads thus :

"Therefore I console myself and acquiesce  
If dust and ashes are my portion."

"Drum tröst ich mich, bescheid' mich,  
Dass Staub mein Theil und Asche."

The more gloomy, because Bickell rejects the epilogue, so that these form the very last words of Job.

There are well-known passages which show that the soul's immortality was the idea which flitted across the writer's mind in the course of the poem, although it ends in terrestrial bliss as his reward. But here, again, there is a wide gulf fixed between his agnosticism and that of our day. The consolation of Positivist philosophy, putting its trust in posthumous immortality, or the recent attempts of leaders in "psychical research" to find "in the realm of automatism and human personality" indications of a "possible survival of bodily death," or by means of observation and experiment applied to the "phantasms of the living" in communication with the spirits of the departed to find "a possible extension of our terrestrial science so as to embrace *possible* indications of life lying beyond, yet conceivably touching the life and the conditions of earth"<sup>1</sup> are so many attempts to snatch from the region of the unknown a narrow strip of *Hinderland* by the conquests of psychological science, endeavours to get behind the "great black veil of death." They contrast unfavourably with the restful resignation of the Hebrew, to whom the unknown region beyond the tomb was forbidden ground, which he dare not explore.

<sup>1</sup> F. W. H. Myers: *Science and a Future Life* (1893), pp. 7, 14, and *passim*. Note the expression *possible*, which we have put in italics to show the reluctance of yielding up greater possibilities to Positivist science on the part of agnostics.

To sum up. Whilst we have no final solution of the great riddle of life in this "book of the trial of man," no answer to satisfy eager minds dwelling on the problem of evil, no "Apology" for the existing order of things, but, on the contrary, ironical reflections on the self-constituted advocates of Divine Right, or would-be interpreters of the secret hidden from mortals (see ch. xii. *init.*), we have here a firm reassertion of the existence of God, the Author and Ruler of the world. We are also clearly told here that His plan of action, as a whole, is concealed from view. The destiny of the race and that of the individual in a future existence are left *in vacuo*; but, in accordance with prevailing beliefs, poetical justice is done in the end, to show that God is just.

The Hebrew agnostic accepts the fact of his own limitations, and bows before the inscrutable Power with undiminished devotion and superadded faith. The modern agnostic, on the contrary, acquiesces in the ultimate reason of things, and, in ceasing to ask further questions relinquishes faith and trust in Him who holds the key to the riddle. The Hebrew agnostic rises from his trial of faith morally and spiritually freed from the fetters of a narrow view of retribution; the modern agnostic abandons the old belief, trying to discover some other basis for the moral edifice in physical laws or social needs, and this with a kind of self-pitying renunciation self-imposed. The former accepts approximate and partial truth when fulness of knowledge is not attainable (ch. ix. 10 et seq., xxviii.). The latter, whilst adopting this principle in the search after natural truth, discards the idea of applying the same principle to spiritual truth, on the principle "that no such knowledge as the Unknowable *can be ever reached*." "I know that my Vindicator liveth somewhere, and will appear some time or another," Job seems to say. "I do not know what becomes of me, but I will put myself right with

the universe before I quit it," says the modern agnostic. There is stoical firmness in both forms of agnosticism, but whereas in the one case it is inspired by a fervid faith which triumphs over every obstacle, in the other it is the result of a sad resignation, sighing over a lost faith, rejecting all help from transcendental or intuitive sources of knowledge. But is it not true and more philosophical to say :

"We are so constituted that if we insist upon being as sure as is conceivable in every step of our course, we must be content to creep along the ground, and can never soar. If we are intended for great ends, we are called to great hazards ; and, whereas we are given absolute certainty in nothing, we must in all things choose between doubt and inactivity, and the conviction that we are under the eye of One who, for whatever reason, exercises us with the less evidence when He might give us the greater."—Dr. Newman's *University Sermons*, sermon xi., *On the Nature of Faith in Relation to Reason*, p. 215.

Here we have the modern rendering of the thought running through the whole Book of Job ; it is, perhaps, the best *résumé* of its devout agnosticism.

M. KAUFMANN.

## THE ARTICLES OF THE APOSTLES' CREED.

### X. "A HOLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH."

Sanctam ecclesiam catholicam.	A holy Christian (christliche)
Sanctorum communionem.	Church, the Communion of Saints,
Remissionem peccatorum.	Forgiveness of sins, Resurrection
Carnis resurrectionem et vitam æternam.	of the flesh and an eternal life.
Amen.	Amen.

*Rom.*: ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν.<sup>1</sup> *Aqu.*: Sanctam ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, hujus carnis resurrectionem. *Afric.*: Remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam.<sup>2</sup> *Jerus.*: καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἀφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. *Antioch.* (Fragment in Chrysostom): καὶ εἰς ἁμαρτιῶν ἀφεσιν καὶ εἰς νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

These last Articles must be taken all together in order to bring into view the great variety of forms in the Creeds that are compared. They also belong to one another inasmuch as the relation of the objects of faith here enumerated to the Faith itself differs from the personal relationship of the believer to God the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Ghost. It is not well to speak, as we commonly do, without any difference in the mode of expression, of belief in Christ and belief in "the forgiveness of sins" or in "eternal life." There is no ambiguity in the older baptismal confession which has been retained unchanged in substance in the Roman Creed. We can trace back the parts of the

<sup>1</sup> Marcellus also added thereto *ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, an addition widely circulated in the East. It is also found in several Western creeds which in other respects are almost identical with the Roman, as with the addition found in that of Ravenna (Hahn, p. 25).

<sup>2</sup> So according to Fulgentius of Ruspe (Caspari, II. 257), and with an equivalent variation in the probably authentic Augustinian sermon 215 (Caspari, II. 245, 265, 271). But already Cyprian in *Epist.* 69, 7 gives the baptismal question which fairly well expresses the thought: "credis in remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam per sanctam ecclesiam?" And to the same effect in *Epist.* 70, 2, only he here reverses the order of the two first clauses.

third Article which are peculiar to it to the beginning of the second century, to the times before Marcion. It lays stress on the difference of the relation by placing the preposition before the three Subjects of the Godhead as objects of faith, and by dropping it before the other articles of faith which follow. By this we are to understand that which we can also express to a certain extent in the translation: "I believe in God, in Christ, in the Holy Ghost," and "I believe a holy Church, Forgiveness of sins, Resurrection of the flesh." The more careful commentators have brought out this difference clearly and in many ways.<sup>1</sup> And if now and then one of the Fathers uses the dative *ecclesia*<sup>2</sup> instead of the accusative *ecclesiam* the context shows that it does not in the least mean that the obedience of faith is to be rendered as a duty to the Church, which at the same time presents the truth and enforces it. It is only a somewhat unskilful attempt to bring out more clearly to the ear the difference which was already perceptible in the oldest forms of the Creed between the objects of faith mentioned before and those which followed after, and to say that faith in the Church was not the same as faith in the Triune God. The Church was not to be looked upon as the author of salvation and the creator of the truth, but to be trusted in as a faithful witness to the truth which

<sup>1</sup> So Rufinus, c. 36, 39. Faustus of Riez, in the second homily (Caspari *Anecdota*, p. 338, cf. p. 329 f.), and *de spir. s.* 1, 2 (Engelbrecht, p. 108, etc.) partly in connection with Augustine's sharp distinction between *credere deum*, *in deum*, and *deo*. Cf. Caspari, I. 226, etc. Also the Roman Catechism, § 145, 163, still holds strictly to this distinction.

<sup>2</sup> So Nicetas, according to the probably true reading (Caspari, *Anecdota*, p. 355 n. 17). But no other statements on the Church follow which prove as such that according to her essential constituents she must be invisible, and therefore an object of faith. It cannot therefore be meant otherwise than as in p. 350: *Sequitur ut credas dominicæ passioni et passum confitearis Christum*. In the *Explanatio symboli*, dating probably from Ambrose (Caspari, II. 55, 57; IV. 218 n. 125, p. 221 n. 194), the tradition wavers between *ecclesiam*, *ecclesia* *in ecclesiam*, without any apparently intentional distinction being drawn between them in the address.

was to be held with her. But this exceptional alteration in the confession is not to be found in form or in meaning in the original confession and in the common interpretation of the old Church.

If faith is a steadfast waiting for things hoped for and a proving of things not seen (Heb. xi. 1), then the thought of primitive Christianity expressed in the words: "I believe a Holy Church" was very important. For in her being and in her essential character the Church is invisible, however visible and tangible her embodiments and her manifold modes of appearing may be. Without the indwelling Holy Spirit, whom we cannot see, she would be a corpse; without the Christ who is ascended up into heaven she would only be a trunk; and again without the risen Christ as the corner and the keystone on which her faithful ones like Him build themselves up as living stones, she would be a house of cards. Without those generations of the faithful, who have gone before, the Church at any one moment, even without taking into account the divisions and the equally unnatural alliances existing at the time, would be but a fragment. And not only would she be this, but she is in fact. I hold the "holy Church" only in the hope that one day all will be reunited, who belong to one another but are now separated, by time and place, by the imperfection of human knowledge and by death; and that all the children of God, who have ever lived, perfected and reunited, will one day appear that which Christ would have them to be. Until the fulfilment of this hope the Church is a mystery which I either believe or, otherwise, do not possess. No very lengthy proof is needed to show that such were the thoughts of Christ and His Apostles, for it is only to words of Christ and his Apostles that I have referred incidentally.

The confession of "the holy Church" would not be altered by the addition of the attribute "Catholic." We

cannot say when it first found its place in the Creed of every single church. While the African Church did not yet accept it in the sixth century we find it already in the Western Creeds of the fourth century which otherwise agree in every respect with the Roman.<sup>1</sup> It seems to have been already contained in the majority of the Eastern Creeds in yet earlier times. According to its original meaning the word "Catholic" reminds us only of an attribute of the Church which contributes essentially to make her an object of faith. The oldest Christian author in whose writings we find the words "Catholic Church" calls united Christendom by that name in contrast to single communities.<sup>2</sup> While the members of the latter live together in one town, gather together in one place for Divine worship, are united under one bishop with priests and deacons, the Catholic Church is wherever Christ and faith in Christ are to be found. The one Bishop and Shepherd of the Catholic Church is, according to Ignatius, Christ or God Himself; the Apostles form His presbytery. Although he does not really say that the saints of the Old Testament are members of the Church, still he reckons them as forming part of that company of people whom God through Christ has saved and gathered together. Also they are already in anticipation disciples of Jesus and filled with His Spirit, and since then they have been put into possession of salvation through Christ. Even the angelic world has part in this community in that they "believe in the blood of Christ."<sup>3</sup> While Ignatius looks upon each separate community and its whole organization as a carnal thing because the persons, places of assembly, transactions and modes of intercourse in which it exists, are earthly and

<sup>1</sup> So in the *Explanation of the Creed* (II. 134), attributed to the time between 340-360 in Caspari, II. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Ign. *Smyrn.* 8; cf. Polycarp's prayer (*Martyr. Polyc.* c. 8, also c. 5), and my *Ignatius*, p. 315 f., 428 ff., 439 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Philad.* 5, 9; *Magn.* 8, 9. On the angelic world, *Smyrn.* 6.

visible, the universal Church is to him something essentially invisible and spiritual. Her Bishop, her presbyters, her chief members, her bond of unity belong to the invisible world, and it is only in officially organized separate communities, confined by locality, that she has a visible earthly embodiment.

Another use of the words "Catholic Church" developed itself in the second century side by side with this original one, which has never been completely discarded. The bearers of the name of Christian, who on account of their peculiar doctrines separated themselves from, or were shut out of, the Church, were therefore not recognised by the majority, who opposed them, as Christians or as members of the Catholic Church, while they regarded themselves as Christians and their separated communities as parts of the "holy Church." Thus arose the opposition of the one great Catholic Church and the smaller heretical communities which nevertheless called themselves Churches also, and were even so called occasionally by their opponents. Thus "Catholic" became a badge of the orthodox Confession. It is remarkable that already in the first instance of this use of the word "Catholic" which we can trace back in literature, it is a single local community that is so called. When we think of the meaning of the word and of the original use of the term, it seems an absolute contradiction in terms to speak of the Bishop of the Catholic Church of Smyrna.<sup>1</sup> It was not in the nature of things that this unfortunate mode of speech should have had any influence worth mentioning on the insertion of "holy Church" into the Creed. For it cannot be an article of faith to believe the palpable fact that the local communities, whose Bishops were a Polycarp or an Augustine, possessed the same confession as the large Christian communities of other towns and lands, and were

<sup>1</sup> In the reports of the community in Smyrna, of the year 155, about Polycarp's martyrdom, c. 16; cf. the greeting in the superscription and c. 19.

in communion with them, while the same did not hold good of the followers of a Marcion or an Arius.

As an attribute of the Church the word "Catholic" in the Creed can only bear its original meaning. The history of its interpretation justifies this view. Those theologians who had not got the word in their Creed just as often as those who had it in their Creed point the heretical communities in order to warn against them, and to assert that the holy Church which is an object of faith is not to be found in them.<sup>1</sup> And on the other hand those who possessed it as a constituent part of the Creed and as a subject for exposition, explain the word just as distinctly of the universality of the Church overleaping all the bounds of time and space, as the others who only used it of their own accord for the purpose of explanation. A Nicetas of Romatiana confesses, according to his Creed, "a holy catholic Church," and then adds immediately: "What is the Church but the assembly of the saints? All from the very beginning of the world, be they Patriarchs such as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or Prophets, or Martyrs, or other righteous men who have been, who are, who shall be, are *one* Church because they, sanctified by *one* faith and *one* conversation, sealed by *one* Spirit, are one body whose head is Christ, as it is written. I say even more, also the angels and all the heavenly powers and dominions are included in the covenant of this *one* Church."<sup>2</sup> It cannot be denied that even long before the times of a Nicetas or an Augustine this truly universal Church which is the object of our faith had become identified in an inadmissible manner with the Church on earth of that period together with her bishops and constitutions. But of this the word "Catholic,"

<sup>1</sup> Augustine, *Sermo* 215, 9; *liber de fide et symbolo*, § 21; *de symbolo ad catechumenos*, § 13 (Bass, viii. 1607), Rufin. c. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Caspari, *Anecdota*, p. 356. We find the same thought in Augustine, *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, 56-64 (§ 15, 16) and elsewhere. He defines the idea in a very popular but less far-reaching way in *Sermo* 213, 6.

of which even theologians often appear to have a fear as of ghosts, is innocent. On the contrary, it forces him who still believes that a baptism properly administered can never be an empty ceremony, to raise his eyes beyond the bounds of his own Confession and also beyond the office-bearers, the ordinances, and the separations of his own peculiar Church to that universal Church which is *sanctorum omnium congregatio*.<sup>1</sup> That false identification of the empirical Church with the true Church can be furthest traced back in the African Church, which did not call the Church "Catholic" in her Creed. On the other hand it was there also that the doubtful form, not without danger, was given to the Article, according to which "the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection and eternal life" were to be obtained through the mediation of "the holy Church." Even this formula allows of a really Christian interpretation. The Christian cannot say simply, as Luther does in his Catechism, that the Holy Ghost forgives him and all the faithful all their sins in that Christendom which He has gathered together, enlightened and sanctified. For it is also true that by the service of the Church and her means of grace each individual is made partaker of the gifts of salvation. But still it is well that the African formula did not spread and maintain itself in the Church, for it lends itself very easily to a false view, and it was probably from a false view that it arose in the beginning.

THEOD. ZAHN.

<sup>1</sup> This is Nicetas' exact expression. (See the former note; cf. Hilary on Psalm 118 (119). *Litæra Samech*, § 6 (ed. Zingerle, p. 490, 14), "*congregatio sancta*" (v. l. *sanctorum*).

*DID JOHN PREACH BAPTISM FOR THE  
REMISSION OF SINS?*

A CRITICISM.

MRS. LEWIS'S paper with the above title in the March number of the EXPOSITOR will have been read with great interest. A very important point has been raised, the argument has been stated with great clearness, and the issue has been made to depend mainly on the grammatical construction of a familiar phrase. In this way the question has been discussed without any heat of theological controversy.

The following observations are offered in the same spirit. The phrase which comes under discussion is the familiar one, *βάπτισμα μετανόας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*, and the first question is whether the qualifying expression *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* is to be regarded as dependent upon and qualifying *βάπτισμα* or *μετανόας*, a third alternative that this expression is dependent on both *βάπτισμα* and *μετανόας* being rejected by Mrs. Lewis as "a most unusual grammatical construction" (p. 225). There remains however another possible grammatical construction. It would certainly not be logically or grammatically possible to make the expression *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* dependent on both *βάπτισμα* and *μετανόας* taken separately, but it is quite possible to make it dependent on *βάπτισμα μετανόας* taken together as one phrase. And that this has been the construction put upon the words by the Christian Churches and by a consensus of theologians it is almost impossible to doubt.

A further examination of the words will confirm this view. St. John did not preach baptism absolutely, he preached baptism with a condition. He preached a baptism of repentance, *i.e.* a baptism which stood in some relation

to repentance. What that relation was we learn by the verbal expression: μετανοήσατε, καὶ βαπτισθήτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν . . . εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, "repent and be baptized every one of you for the remission of sins" (Acts ii. 38). In other words, the baptism of John and afterwards the baptism of Christ had for a precedent condition repentance (μετάνοια). But the baptism of John was to be followed as well as preceded by μετάνοια: ἐγὼ βαπτίζω ὑμᾶς ἐν ὕδατι εἰς μετάνοιαν (Matt. iii. 11). Μετάνοια was to be the final cause of baptism. Baptism must lead on to μετάνοια. In order to see how this could be we must consider the true meaning of μετάνοια. "Repentance" is an inadequate rendering. The preposition μετά with which the word is compounded implies change, and μετάνοια signifies the change of heart and life and *motive*, the "amendment of life" (A.V. *marg.*), which follows upon conviction of sin. Baptism marked and symbolised this change and became the starting point of the new life.

A further point remains. Why should John's baptism be thus characterized? Was there any other baptism from which it was to be distinguished? Expressions such as εἰς τὸν Μωϋσῆν ἐβαπτίσαντο (1 Cor. x. 2), and διαφόροις βαπτισμοῖς (Heb. ix. 10) certainly imply that baptism was not an unknown rite among the Jews. It is probable that proselytes were baptized; and the baptism of John does not appear to have created surprise as an innovation. If then baptism was a familiar rite, it was all the more necessary that a new teacher should clearly indicate the significance which he put upon it. This the Baptist did by the use of a qualifying word—μετανοίας. There is a remarkable passage in Josephus which further illustrates this necessity of definition. Josephus, speaking of John's baptism (*Ant.* xviii. v. 2) says: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὴν βάπτισιν ἀποδεκτὴν αὐτῷ φανεῖσθαι μὴ ἐπὶ τινων ἁμαρτιῶν παραιτήσῃ χρωμένων ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὁγνέλᾳ τοῦ σώματος ἅτε δὴ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς δικαιοσύνης

*προκεκαθαρμένης*—a passage which Whiston translates as follows: "For that the washing with water would be acceptable to Him (God) if they made use of it, not in order to the putting away of some sins but for the purification of the body; supposing still that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness." This passage seems to indicate an unwillingness on the part of the Pharisee Josephus to admit the need of repentance or conversion for those who came to John's baptism—a misconception which shows how necessary the addition of *μετανοίας* was in order to exhibit the true meaning and purport of the rite.

Turning now to the expression *εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν*, we are unable to agree with Mrs. Lewis's suggestion that *ἄφεσις* can bear the sense of "forsaking" in this connexion. Indeed in the instance cited from Liddell and Scott's *Lexicon* the rendering given to *ἀφίημι* is "to put away," *ὀργήν*, "to divorce," *γυναῖκα*. And both in the Old and New Testaments the use of *ἄφεσις* in the sense of letting go or remission is too well established to need proof.

*Εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν* then can only mean for the remission of sins, *i.e.* in order that sins may be remitted or forgiven.

The further question how this is possible is purely a theological one. But on the supposition that baptism is the outward symbol of a new and spiritual life imparted by virtue of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, it does not involve greater difficulty than such as is necessarily present in any endeavour to realise the invisible operations of divine grace.

The new life thus begun has its counterpart in the physical life. It is true that among the baptized are found murderers and liars and criminals of the worst type; in other words, men who have weakened or lost their spiritual life; but it is equally true that among those who are

naturally born some are weak and diseased and all ultimately die. In each case the life imparted has been weakened or vitiated or destroyed. But still in each case a life was originally given.

ARTHUR CARR.

## THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

It was a great disappointment to find that in his admirable and most illuminative *Einleitung in das Neue Testament* Dr. Zahn has abandoned the usual view (and, as I believe, the right view) as to the order of composition of the earlier Epistles of St. Paul, and has placed *Galatians* chronologically first among the letters, taking it as written from Corinth early in the first visit (Acts xviii. 1 ff.).<sup>1</sup> I had expected that he would give us a thorough examination of the Epistle from the South-Galatian point of view; but this mistake (if I may venture to speak so) as to date and place of origin must conceal from him many delicate yet important features. In the following notes the attempt will be made to bring out some of the wealth of meaning which the Epistle gains when its origin, date, and purpose are rightly conceived. I have not the knowledge or skill to do this properly and fully; but I hope to emphasize some little-noticed features, and to suggest to scholars, who are better fitted to explain the New Testament, views which they may improve and develop.

It is plain that, on the North-Galatian theory, no light is thrown on the Epistle by consideration of the persons to whom it was addressed, or the political circumstances of their country, and very little by consideration of the date and place of origin to which it must be assigned (assuming this to be either Ephesus, or Greece, or Macedonia during

<sup>1</sup> In various less important points Dr. Zahn dissents from my views; but in the essential question—North Galatian or South Galatian—he is unhesitating: the Epistle was written to the Churches of Iconium, Antioch, Derbe, and Lystra.

the last visit). As to the former point—viz., the persons addressed—the only “elucidation” of the Epistle from that side is the stereotyped joke that the Galatians had changed their religion rapidly, and the French are fickle (though no reason is ever given, or can be given, to think that the Gauls, or the French, are apt to change their religion). It is, however, satisfactory to see that recent writers refuse to accept this illustration (*e.g.* Zöckler, in his excellent commentary, ed. II.; and Salmon, in Smith's *Dict. Bib.*).

As to their political and social circumstances, not a single allusion to the subject is known to me among the North-Galatian commentators.<sup>1</sup> The central regions of Asia Minor were then in a very marked and peculiar position. The Roman organization was being gradually extended through them. Each region, as it was thought fit for Roman administration, was taken into the Empire; and the way in which it was received was that it was made a part of the Provincia Galatia, while those regions that were still too barbarous and unruly were left under kings, who, being close at hand, were ready for instant action. Thus to share in the name Galatia, or the epithet Galatic (Acts xvi. 6, xviii. 23), implied advance in civilization and education; and among those who shared in the Roman (or, rather, Græco-Roman) education there existed a great contempt for the outer, non-Roman, non-Galatic barbarians. The South-Galatian commentators read the Epistle as part of the history of this transitional stage. What has been said in my *St. Paul*, ch. vi., on the relation between the Pauline preaching and the Roman policy in these lands need not be here repeated; but those who would understand the Epistle from the South-Galatian view and appreciate the argument in the following notes must bear it in mind.

<sup>1</sup> Contrast with their attitude the tone of Mr. Rendall, *e.g.*, in *EXPOSITION*, Nov., 1898, p. 821. To him Paul has the statesmanlike spirit of one dealing with actual political facts.

## I. THE INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS.

In any judicious system of interpretation, great stress must be laid on the introductory address of this Epistle. It should be compared with the address prefixed to the Epistle to the Romans, a letter which presents marked analogies in sentiment and topics. In each case Paul puts in his introduction the marrow of the whole letter. He says at first in a few words what he is going to say at length in the body of the letter, to repeat over and over, to emphasize from various points of view, and to drive home into the minds of his correspondents.

The phrase, "all the brethren which are with me," arrests our attention. Paul wrote in some place where there was a considerable body of Christians; and we may confidently say that that implies one or other of the cities where there were churches. The words used by Dr. Zöckler to describe the situation in which Paul wrote are so good, that we may leave it to him to express what is implied in this phrase. As he has been so prominent an adversary of the South-Galatian theory, no one will be able to charge me with straining Paul's words to suit my own view. He says: "The whole body of fellow-Christians who were with him at the time in——<sup>1</sup> (not merely his more prominent helpers) are mentioned by St. Paul as those who join with him in greeting the Galatians. He does this in order to give the more emphasis to what he has to say to them. He writes indeed with his own hand (vi. 13), but in the name of a whole great Christian community. The warnings and exhortations which are to be addressed to the Galatians go forth from a body whose authority cannot be lightly regarded."

Further, it must be observed that Paul mentions, in the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Zöckler names "Ephesus" here, without hesitation, conformably to his theory, which is the commonly received view among North-Galatian critics.

preliminary address of his letters, only persons who stood in some close and authoritative relation to the community addressed: <sup>1</sup> thus, Sosthenes joins in the address in *1 Cor.*, and he was evidently a leading member of the Corinthian Church, possibly a former chief of the synagogue; Timothy (who had shared in the first preaching) joins in the address, *2 Cor.* and *Phil.*; he also is named to the Colossians (whose apostle he may probably have been); <sup>2</sup> Silvanus and Timothy join in addressing the Thessalonians, with whom they had been in such close relations from the first. No one joins in the address in *Romans*, *Ephesians*, *Timothy*, *Titus*.

The Church which here addresses the Galatians, therefore, is one which was closely connected with them, whose opinion would carry weight among them, one which could add impressiveness even to a letter of Paul's. What congregation stood in this relation to the Galatians? Not the Ephesians, nor the Corinthians, later converts, who are not mentioned in the addresses of the letters that are known to have been written among them (*Rom.*, *1 Cor.*). Only two congregations could add weight to this particular letter—Jerusalem and Antioch. The former is, for many reasons, out of the question; but Antioch is, from every point of view, specially suitable and impressive. It was the brethren at Antioch who chose out Barnabas and Saul for the work, in the course of which the Galatians were converted. Antioch was the Mother-Church to the Galatians, and it would be specially effective among the Galatians that all the brethren who were at Antioch joined in the letter.

The same conclusion as to the locality whence the letter

<sup>1</sup> Salutations at the end of a letter are those of simple love and good-will; at the beginning, of authority. At the end of *Romans*, *Corinthians*, *Philippians*, etc., hosts of well-wishers send greetings.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Paul the Trav.*, p. 274. Timothy is named to Philemon, and the Church in his house, for the same reason as to Colossæ.

was written has already been drawn from a consideration of the relations between Paul and the Galatian Churches. It was, in all probability, at Antioch that Paul received the first news of the Galatian defection (*St. Paul the Trav.*, p. 189 f.).

The place of origin throws light on the Epistle as a whole. In the first place, if the Church of Antioch shared in it, the letter must have been publicly read<sup>1</sup> and approved before it was despatched. Few, I imagine, will suppose that Paul merely assumed that all who were with him agreed in his sentiments without consulting them: those who thus conceive the character of Paul differ so radically from me that discussion of the point between us would be unprofitable. Accordingly, we must understand that the history as well as the sentiment contained in this Epistle, were guaranteed by the whole Church of Antioch.

In the second place, this shows why it is that Antioch, which was so closely associated with the evangelization of Galatia, is not formally alluded to in the body of the letter. The Epistle formerly always produced on me a certain painful impression, as not recognising the right of Antioch to some share in the championship of freedom. Antioch had taken a very prominent and honourable part in the struggle for freedom; yet, on the ordinary theory of origin, it is not

<sup>1</sup> Either before the whole Church, or more probably before its representatives. Thus, for example, the salutation of "all the Churches" in *Rom.* xvi. 16, means the salutation of the representatives enumerated *Acts* xx. 4, and then in company with Paul as he wrote. Incidentally, it may be noted that this proves that the long list of greetings in *Rom.* xvi. was really addressed to the Roman Church, and not, according to a well-known theory, to the Church of Ephesus. It is surely by a slip that Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam fail to notice the meaning of this salutation, and say, "it is a habit of St. Paul to speak on behalf of the Churches as a whole," quoting, in support of this statement, *Rom.* xvi. 4, *1 Cor.* vii. 17, xiv. 33, *2 Cor.* viii. 18, xi. 28: in none of these places does Paul speak in the name of the Churches, except *Rom.* xvi. 4, where he has the same justification, that representatives of the Churches were with him: in the other cases he merely mentions facts about "all the Churches." Further, this shows that all the delegates assembled at Corinth, disapproving the view suggested in my *St. Paul*, p. 287 (abandoned in German edition).

alluded to in this letter, except to point out that every Jew in Antioch betrayed on one occasion the cause of freedom. Considering what Antioch had done for Christianity and for Paul, every one who follows the ordinary theory must, I think, feel a pang of regret in Paul's interest that he did not by some word or expression give more generous recognition to her services. In a letter, in which he speaks so much about the actual details of the struggle, he seems, on that view, to speak only of his own services, and hardly at all to allude to the services of others.<sup>1</sup> But when all Antiochian Christians are associated with the Apostle throughout, we feel that the Church of Antioch is placed in the honourable position which she had earned.

What a flood of light does this fact throw on the history of Antioch and of early Christianity! It shows us the congregation of Antioch standing side by side with Paul, sharing in his views, his difficulties, and his struggles for freedom. The Jewish Christians in Antioch had all apparently become united by this time with the Gentiles in sympathy with Paul, just as Barnabas and Peter had been. This in itself is an answer to those who, like Mr. Baring Gould, blame Paul entirely for the separation between Jews and Christians. The mingled conciliation (as in Acts xv. 30, 31, and xvi. 3, 4) and firmness of Paul gradually produced a unity of Jewish and Gentile Christians throughout Asia Minor<sup>2</sup> and the Antiochian district.

The mischief caused by the North-Galatian theory is not merely that it produces erroneous ideas on many points, but that it shuts the eyes to many other points. Here, for example, it deprives us of all evidence in the New Testa-

<sup>1</sup> In the Epistle to the Romans, though the subject and treatment are in some respects so similar, there is not the same need or opening for mentioning Antioch, because the subject is handled in a general and philosophical way, not in the personal and individual style which rules in *Galatians*.

<sup>2</sup> Reasons for this view are stated in chaps. xii., xv., xvii. of my *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, on the history of the Christians and the Jews in Phrygia.

ment for the feeling that existed between Paul and the Antiochian Church after the events narrated in *Acts* xv. and *Galatians* ii. ff.

It will hardly be advanced as an argument against Antioch as the place of origin that Syria and Antioch are mentioned in the letter by name, and that Paul does not say "here" in place of "to Antioch," ii. 11. In *1 Corinthians*, which was written at Ephesus, he used the expression, "at Ephesus," and mentions "Asia."

Dr. Clemen has rightly recognised the force of the reference to "all the brethren with me," and he explains it by dating the composition of *Galatians* immediately after *Romans*, when all the delegates of the Churches were with Paul.<sup>1</sup> It may be fully granted that this would explain most satisfactorily the use of the phrase; but other considerations prevent us from accepting so late a date for the letter.

## II. PERSONS MENTIONED IN THE EPISTLE.

The persons mentioned by name in the Epistle are Titus, Cephas Peter, James, John, and Barnabas.

Titus was evidently unknown to the Galatians. The point of Paul's reference to him turns on his nationality. He was a Greek, and this is carefully explained in ii. 3, so that the readers may not fail to catch the drift of the argument. Had the Galatians known Titus, had he accompanied Paul on a journey and been familiar to them, the explanation would have been unnecessary; and in this Epistle there is not a single unnecessary word.

It is assumed that the Galatians know that Cephas and Peter were the same person; but we cannot suppose that they were converted without learning who the Twelve Apostles were; and, even if Paul and Barnabas had not made the Apostles known to them, the Judaizing emis-

<sup>1</sup> See footnote on p. 405.

saries would have done so, as the whole burden of their argument was that James, Peter, etc., were superior in authority to Paul. Yet, even as regards the three, James and Cephas and John, the point on which the argument turns, "they who were reputed to be pillars," is made clear and explicit. Some knowledge about the Apostles is assumed; but the crucial point is expressed, and not merely assumed.

Barnabas, however, is mentioned simply by name, and it is assumed that his personality was familiar to the Galatians. "Even Barnabas was carried away." The whole point in this expression lies in Barnabas's staunch championship of Gentile rights, but a knowledge of his action and views is supposed. Paul, who even explains that James, Peter, and John were the leading Apostles, assumes that Barnabas is so familiar, that his argument will be caught without any explanation. There is only one set of congregations among whom it could be assumed that Barnabas was better known than Peter and James and John. Paul was writing to the Galatians, whom Barnabas and he had converted, and among whom Barnabas had spent many months. We must conclude that Barnabas was known to the Galatians, while Titus was unknown to them.

Now it is argued in my *St. Paul*, p. 285, that Titus was taken by Paul with him on his third journey (Acts xviii. 23). After that journey, when Titus had spent a good many weeks among the Galatians, it would not have been necessary to explain to them that he was a Greek. On the other hand, it was a telling sequel to the Epistle that Titus, who is quoted as an example to the Galatians, and who was of course one of "the brethren which are with me," and associated in the Epistle, should personally visit the Galatians along with Paul on his next journey. There is a natural connection between the prominence of

Titus in Paul's mind during this Galatian crisis and the selection of him as companion among the Galatians. I should be quite prepared to find that, when Paul went on to Ephesus, Titus was left behind for a time in Galatia, confirming the churches and organizing the contribution; and that thereafter he rejoined Paul at Ephesus in time to be sent on a mission for a similar purpose to Corinth.

Now, glance for a moment at the North-Galatian theory. It is certain that, according to that view, Barnabas was personally unknown to the North Galatians, while there is a considerable probability that Titus (who was with Paul in Ephesus) had accompanied him all the way from Ephesus, and was therefore known to the Galatians. The North-Galatian view leaves the tone of the references an insoluble difficulty.

### III. RELATION OF PAUL TO BARNABAS.

It has often been said that Paul is very niggardly here in recognition of Barnabas's work as a champion of Gentile rights. But Paul was not writing a history for the ignorant; he assumes throughout that the Galatians know the services of Barnabas. The single phrase "even Barnabas" is a sufficient answer to that charge. The one word "even" recalls the whole past to the interested readers; it places Barnabas above Peter in this respect. Peter had recognised the apostolate to the Gentiles: Peter had eaten with the Gentiles: but his dissembling, after all that, was not so extraordinary a thing as that "even Barnabas was carried away with the dissimulation" of the other Jews. That one phrase places Barnabas on a pedestal as a leading champion of the Gentiles; and yet it does not explicitly state that; it merely assumes the knowledge of his championship among the Galatians.

Further, where Paul speaks of his first journey, *i.e.* his

Gospel to the Galatians,<sup>1</sup> he uses the plural pronoun: "any Gospel other than that which *we* preached unto you" (i. 8); "as *we* have said before, so say I now again" (i. 9).

The Galatians caught the meaning of "we" in these cases as "Barnabas and I." On the other hand, where the reference is to the division which had now come into existence between the Galatians and their evangelist, Barnabas is not included, and the singular pronoun is used (iv. 12 ff.). There was no alienation between the Galatians and Barnabas, for Barnabas had not returned to them; and, as we shall see, it was through perversion and through real misunderstanding of Paul's conduct on his second journey that the division arose.

#### IV. "I MARVEL."

After the introductory address—the heading of the letter, so to say—Paul usually begins the body of the letter with an expression of thanks (so *Rom.*, 1 *Cor.*, *Phil.*, *Col.*, 1 and 2 *Thess.*, 2 *Tim.*, *Philem.*), or of blessing (so 2 *Cor.*, *Eph.*). The exceptions are 1 *Timothy* and *Titus* (in which he plunges at once into the important business of Church order and teaching, the cause of the letters). The letter to the Galatians differs from all others. Not merely is there no expression of thankfulness; Paul goes at once to the business in hand, "I marvel that ye are so quickly removing," and then he pronounces a curse on any one, man or angel from heaven, who preaches to the Galatians "any gospel other than that which we preached unto you"—"any gospel other than that which ye received." The reference, of course, is to the message which converted the Galatians, the Gospel which originally called them from darkness to light.

<sup>1</sup> It is important to observe that when Paul speaks of the Gospel to the Galatians, he means the message which converted them, viz. his first visit.

The intense feeling under which Paul was labouring is shown by the unique character of the opening, and by the strength—one might say, the violence—of the language. Anything that is said in this first paragraph must be understood as being of overwhelming importance. Paul here touches the crucial point of the Galatian difficulty.

V. "YE CHANGE SO QUICKLY."

The position of these words in the opening of the letter shows that we must lay the utmost stress on them. Paul had evidently heard nothing of the steps by which the Galatians had passed over to the Judaizing side. We may assume, of course, that there were steps: however rapidly, from one point of view, it came about, time is required to change so completely the religion of several cities so widely separated. But Paul had heard nothing of the intermediate steps. He heard suddenly that the Galatian churches are crossing over to the Judaistic side. This point requires notice.

In the case of the Corinthian Church, we can *trace* in the two Epistles the development of the Judaizing tendency. In the first Epistle it hardly appears. The difficulties and errors which are there mentioned are rather the effect of the tone and surroundings of Hellenic paganism: lax morality, and a low conception of purity and duty, are more obvious than the tendency to follow Judaizing teachers. There is a marked tendency in Paul's tone to make allowance for the Judaic point of view: the writer is quite hopeful of maintaining union and friendly relations with the Jewish community. We observe here much the same stage as that on which the Galatian Churches stood at Paul's second visit, *Acts* xvi. 1-5: then, also, Paul was full of consideration for the Jews, hopeful of unity, ready to go to the furthest possible point in conciliating them by showing respect to their prejudices, de-

livering the Apostolic Decree, and charging them to observe its prohibition of meat offered to idols and of those indulgences which were permitted by universal consent in pagan society. In *1 Corinthians* his instruction is to the same general effect, though delivered with much greater insight into the practical bearing and the philosophic basis of the rules of life which he lays down. He had learned in the case of the Galatian Churches what mistaken conceptions the Apostolic Decree was liable to rouse, if it were delivered to his converts as a law for them to keep: he knew that, if there were any opening left, the ordinary man would understand that the Decree would be taken as a sort of preparation for, and imperfect stage leading up to, the whole Law. His instructions to the Corinthians are carefully framed so as to guard against the evils which had been experienced in Galatia; and yet the principles and rules which he lays down represent exactly his conception of the truth embodied in the Apostolic Decree.<sup>1</sup> Much of *1 Corinthians* is the statement of the moral and philosophical basis on which rested the external and rather crude rules embodied in that Decree.

On the other hand, in *2 Corinthians* the old evils are sensibly diminished, to Paul's great joy and thankfulness, but a new evil is coming in viz., the tendency to Judaism. This, however, is not yet so far advanced in Corinth as it was in Galatia when *Galatians* was written. It is only beginning. It is a suggestive fact that *Romans*, written six or nine months later than *2 Corinthians*, speaks of the Judaizing tendency as a danger in a stage similar to *Galatians*, and Dr. Drescher, in a most admirable article in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1897, p. 1 ff., remarks that Paul, in writing to the Roman Church, with which he had never come into personal relations, and about whose position and difficulties he had only second-hand

<sup>1</sup> See Prof. W. Lock's convincing paper in *EXPOSITOR*, July, 1897, p. 65.

information,<sup>1</sup> was guided greatly by the circumstances of the Corinthian congregation, in the midst of which he was writing.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam are, on the whole, of this opinion. Corinth, then, early in 56, was where Galatia stood in 53 (if I may assume the dates given in my *St. Paul*, merely to show the interval).

How, then, had Paul been ignorant of the steps in the Galatian defection? That was natural, on the South-Galatian view. The rapid and unforeseeable changes of his life after his second visit made it impossible for exchange of letters and messages to take place. Even after he went to Corinth he was still looking for the expected opening in Macedonia, which he understood to be his appointed field, until the new message was given him (*Acts* xviii. 9). But on the North-Galatian view, Paul was resident in Ephesus for a long time after leaving Galatia, and this residence was in accordance with his long-fixed intention (*Acts* xviii. 21). Those who place the composition of *Galatians* after *Romans* cannot explain Paul's ignorance, for it is as certain as anything can be that there was almost daily communication between Ephesus and Pisidian Antioch.<sup>3</sup> The commoner view, which places *Galatians* as early as possible in the Ephesian residence, reduces the difficulty; but still leaves it unexplained why Paul's news was so sudden and so completely disastrous, why he had no preparation. Yet the tone of these opening words is inexplicable, unless the news had come like a thunderclap from a clear sky. W. M. RAMSAY.

(To be continued.)

<sup>1</sup> Reports from Aquila and Priscilla would not be sufficient, though they probably elicited the letter. *Acts* xxviii. shows that the Judaistic difficulty had not yet become serious in Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly his Ephesian experiences influence, to some extent, the tone of *1 Corinthians* and the early part of *2 Corinthians*.

<sup>3</sup> Not so frequent between Ancyra and Ephesus; but even in that case there was abundant communication.

*THE HEBREW "COTTER'S SATURDAY NIGHT."*

(PSALM CXXVII.)

IT may seem incongruous, or to some even irreverent, to mention in the same breath the sweet psalmist of Israel and the ploughman-bard of Scotland. Yet the association may be defended without attempting either to elevate Burns to a false sanctity or to degrade the psalmist to the level of a secular poet. Apart from a parallel that might be drawn between the peasant-poet with his "passions wild and strong" and the poet-king with his great sin and his bitter remorse, there is not a little in common between the poetry of the Psalms in general and that of Robert Burns. Through both breathes a spirit of "broad humanity" which has carried them far beyond the narrow spheres in which they originated.<sup>1</sup> Both are also intensely patriotic. To the Hebrew poet and prophet alike there was no nation or country like their own,—highly favoured in the past, richly endowed with the best blessings, destined to the most glorious future. As for Burns, he himself tells us what his life-long wish was:—

"That I, for poor auld Scotland's sake,  
Some usefu' plan or book could make,  
Or sing a sang at least!"

So closely, indeed, does he identify himself with his country that it would be quite easy to discover a personified "Scotia" as the speaker in some of his best poems, just as critics find the "Church" speaking in the Psalms. Now "love of country," according to a current Eastern saying, "is of the nature of religion." And, notwithstanding his personal faults, and the severity of his language when he censured the religionists of his day, Burns had nothing but

<sup>1</sup> William Jacks, in his *Robert Burns in Other Tongues* (MacLehose, 1896), has collected specimens of renderings of the national poet in at least sixteen European languages.

the deepest reverence for true religion. In the "Cotter's Saturday Night," which is intensely patriotic, personal religion and family piety are made the foundation of a nation's greatness. It is well known that "the saint, the father, and the husband" who, in that poem, leads the family worship, is the father of Burns himself, of whom he always spoke with the deepest reverence. Of that worship

"Those strains that once did sweet in Zion glide"

formed a conspicuous part, and the old melodies with which they were associated made perpetual music in his heart. The songs of Burns, accordingly, have not a few points of contact with the Psalms; and the late Professor Blackie (who had poetry in every fibre of his nature, and was, though in a very unconventional way, a religious man) was in the habit of classing them together. Among his last words were these: "The psalms of David and the songs of Burns, but the psalms first." Blackie's countrymen, who will insist on recognising a strong religious element in their national poet, will not easily be persuaded that King David, with all his faults, had not grace enough to write a psalm.

I have ventured to bring Psalm cxxvii. into collocation with the well-known poem of Burns, because, though the Psalm is less elaborate, and its imagery necessarily unlike that of a poem produced in a very different atmosphere, it seems to me to breathe essentially the same spirit. I am, of course, aware that quite another interpretation of the Psalm is in vogue. The Jewish scribes are supposed to have inscribed it "to Solomon," because the "house" and the "city" were taken to refer to the first Temple in Jerusalem; perhaps, also, because they saw in the "beloved" a hint at the name Jedidiah bestowed upon the infant Solomon (2 Sam. xii. 25). Modern expositors in like manner refer the Psalm to the rebuilding of the Temple and the repeopling of Jerusalem after the exile; and the

recent paper of Mr. Barnes,<sup>1</sup> though not perhaps a completely "fresh interpretation," is a very ingenious presentation of the modern view in the light of a suitable historical situation.

Nevertheless, as Professor Cheyne well observes,<sup>2</sup> "in a lyric composition we should prefer the easiest interpretation." If, therefore, by taking the words in their obvious and simplest senses, and by adhering to the ordinary constructions of the language, we find the Psalm yielding a connected meaning, self-contained and complete in itself, we may claim consideration for an interpretation at once simple and easy. The opening words very literally rendered are:—

"If the Lord build not a house,  
In vain do toil its builders on it;  
If the Lord keep not a city,  
In vain waketh watchman!"

There is no need to look for an "occasion" beyond the first line of the Psalm itself. Though the Hebrew writer might have employed the article, in a generic sense, before "house" and "city" and still have preserved an indefinite reference, he has made assurance doubly sure by omitting it. This is certainly an "easier" interpretation than to refer the *undefined* terms to the temple and city of Jerusalem.

The building of a house is not only a familiar thing, but a significant thing, in the East at the present day; and it must have been so among "the thousands of Israel" of old. It means an advance, a new departure, the assuming of a position of greater responsibility. The style in which an eastern house is built is very simple, and for the peasantry very convenient. It may begin as a single room placed in its garden; and it may never be more. But if things go well with the family, if children increase, if

<sup>1</sup> EXPOSITOR, April, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> *The Book of Psalms*, p. 117, col. 1.

perhaps a son brings home a bride, the house grows by the addition of room to room till it may attain considerable size. But whether it is the first building or a later expansion, it is always an important matter. To a poor man it is no small effort, even to a rich man it is suggestive of the vicissitudes of an unknown future. These young ones, for whom this sacrifice is made—what will be their lot when the parents are gone? Will they or will they not sustain the honour of the family and hand down an untarnished name? All these thoughts pass through the minds of the builders, so that the building of the house becomes almost a sacramental act. The friends and neighbours, also, who are consulted about the undertaking, and who give a helping hand—as I have seen all the able-bodied men in a village do, when it came to the placing of the great beam that is to support the roof,—rejoice with the household when the work is accomplished, and pray for a blessing on the family. To have one's house built is the Scriptural phrase for name and fame and position in Israel; and "May God build your house" is one of the commonest and most expressive of modern benedictions. So our village poet, when the toil of the day is over, and the more wearied of the labourers have retired to rest, tunes his lyre, and, sitting down in a small circle of listeners by the side of the house, puts into words the thoughts passing through all their minds: "If the Lord build not a house, in vain do toil its builders on it."

It is only an extension of the thought that follows: "If the Lord keep not a city, in vain waketh watchman." The transition from the house to the town is most obvious. There were many walled towns besides Jerusalem; and, whether the town were walled or not, the watchman was a familiar personage. For there were the flocks in the fold and the herd in the stalls; and, besides the famishing beast of the desert, there was the fell avenger of blood on the

track of his victim, or the lurking thief whose covetous eye had fallen upon some precious possession of his neighbour. I remember how, when I was travelling up and down Palestine, if a greedy mule was tempted to swerve from the path into a field of growing grain, or a bold muleteer to step aside into a vineyard of ripe grapes, a remonstrating voice would be heard from a distant hill-top, giving notice that the watchman was on the alert. And at night, when we were turning into our tent, and one of the muleteers, a dashing young Druze, posted as sentry for the first watch, used to fire off his musket to inform all whom it concerned, as he said, that we were prepared to defend our property, an answer would come, first from the dogs of the nearest village, and then from the musket of some one who, like Assad himself, was posted as guardian for the night. Certain it is that, at hours when all seems wrapt in slumber, there are wakeful eyes and sharp eyes about, and even the wariest watchman may be circumvented or surprised.

Thus then the poet has struck the key-note of his song. It is the old *nisi Dominus frustra*, the *Islam* (or recognition of God's will) that is older than Mohammed, and on which his religion was grafted; the truth which the Oriental, with his lazy fatalism, has learned wrong, and the Occidental, with his self-reliance, finds it so hard to learn right. For it has its practical aspect, which our poet is now to unfold. Even while he has been singing, the master of the house, who had scarcely taken time to finish his supper, has been up and about, putting things in order against another day's toil, and the bustling housewife is still giving the last touches to her day's drudgery. To them says the poet:

"Vain is it for you that ye are early to rise, late to sit down, eating bread of sorrows:

So He giveth His beloved sleep!"

Here are two exquisite pictures contrasted: the one, in the sharp, hurried clauses, representing the anxious ones who

are on their feet at earliest dawn, and sit not down till far in the night, eating their food in carefulness and haste; the other, by a graphic touch, exhibiting the favourite of Heaven because childlike in faith, going calmly to sleep without thought or care.

It is here that expositors find their chief difficulty. Prof. Wellhausen, in his new translation of the Psalms (in the Polychrome Bible), gives the translation adopted by "nearly all modern expositors," with the confession that "it is entirely inadmissible":

"Even so He gives to His beloved in sleep."

He adds: "Nor is the rendering of A.V. and R.V. any better: *For so He giveth* (R.V. *unto*) *His beloved sleep*. The Hebrew words are unintelligible." This, however, may be because the expositor is looking for something in the Psalm which is not there. On the simple literal interpretation, this "So" is a graphic touch of vivid brightness. The word is used *δεικτικῶς*, not as a particle of comparison with anything already mentioned, but in place of a gesture, to indicate what is before the eye, or the mind's eye, of the speaker. A striking example of the same usage is found in John iv. 6: "Jesus therefore, being wearied with His journey, sat *thus* on the well,"—as if the speaker suited the action to the word. Similarly in 1 Kings ii. 7: "Show kindness unto the sons of Barzillai the Gileadite, and let them be of those that eat at thy table; for *so* they came to me when I fled because of Absalom thy brother"—the whole scene of that never forgotten day starting into view before the mind's eye of the dying king. So here by one touch the artist has produced a picture. Was it suggested by some pet child who "ought to have been in bed" but had been allowed to thrust himself into the little circle, and was now nodding into slumber at the poet's knee? Or was it that they were sitting under

the sheltering vine by the side of the house wherein the wearied family had betimes retired to rest? Whatever was the suggestion, it was not far-fetched, and it brings into striking contrast the ceaseless activity of the wakeful "you," and the "no thought for the morrow" of God's beloved. "See how He giveth His loved one sleep!"

What is gained by the rendering "giveth . . . in sleep," which is now fashionable, it is hard to see. It introduces two unnecessary difficulties, the adverbial use of the noun *sleep*, and the omission of an object to the verb *he giveth*. For there is no object in the context. Houses and cities are not given while men sleep; and no "things" are mentioned for which people labour late and early. It is the anxiety, the care, the thinking of their own labour as effective, that the poet reproves. And if God gives *mercy* and *favour* in the eyes of Pharaoh, for example (Gen. xliii. 14; Exod. iii. 21), if He gives *peace* in the land (Lev. xxvi. 6), *power* to get wealth (Deut. viii. 18), and similar blessings, why should there be any difficulty in saying He gives to His loved one sleep? Or what better word could a poet have chosen for the contrast? No wonder that poets especially "have clutched greedily at this beautiful interpretation"<sup>1</sup> and the poetic instinct ought to count for much in the estimate of a composition of this kind.

What follows in the remainder of the Psalm is also to be taken in the literal sense; and there is not only a natural connection in the parts, but perhaps also a more real climax in the composition than at first sight appears. An exquisite piece of word painting in one of our Lord's parables will serve to make the connection plain. A man goes to his neighbour's house at midnight and says, "Friend, lend me three loaves, for a friend of mine on his journey is come to me, and I have nothing to set before

<sup>1</sup> Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms*, p. 335.

him." And the master of the house from within answers: "Trouble me not: the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give thee" (Luke xi. 5-7). Now why could he not rise and give him? He was by this time wide awake. It is a matter of every-day experience in the East to borrow bread, for the family has its "baking-day," and borrowed loaves are always returned, so that he was not actuated by greed. To be sure, he was somewhat churlish, and grumbled at being disturbed; but the excuses he urges, "the door is now shut, and my children are with me in bed," are meant to be sufficient to support the conclusion, "I cannot rise and give thee."

It is the picture of a sleeping apartment that is before us. When night comes on, what has been used as a sitting-room by day is turned into a bedroom in a few minutes. There is no heavy furniture to be moved; the mattresses, which have been rolled up during the day, are spread upon the floor, a quilted coverlet is spread upon each, and the thing is done. The number of mattresses is in proportion to the number of sleepers; and if the family is large, the greater part of the floor-space may be occupied. It may even be necessary to awaken some of the sleepers before the door can be opened, and, in any case, it is a matter of some difficulty for a man whose children are with him in bed to arise at midnight and look for bread.

Such is the picture, unless I am mistaken, presented in the Psalm, the picture of the household wrapt in healthful, peaceful sleep. Then, the idea of house-building, with which the poet started, not having yet spent its force, there leaps into the field of his fancy the picture of the family of sturdy boys, the pride and the most coveted blessing of Hebrew parents:

"Happy is the man that hath his quiver filled with them.

They shall not be ashamed when they speak with enemies in the gate."

One short step more—and it is suggested in the closing words—and the poet would have concluded with the customary "Peace upon Israel." It is precisely the train of thought of the *Cotter's Saturday Night* :—

"From scenes like these old Scotia's grandeur springs,  
That makes her ov'd at home, rever'd abroad."

What, now, is to be said in favour of this interpretation? First of all, it claims to be perfectly simple and easy. Words are taken in their primary sense, figures in their obvious significance, the connection is natural and the sense complete. If details have been introduced which are not directly mentioned in the Psalm itself, we have not to go far in search of them. They are all found in a cottage in a garden, and they are less cumbrous furniture of a lyric poem than a Temple and a walled city and streets full of people.

As to the "period" and historical situation of the Psalm, the poet, just because he is a lyric poet, says little to inform us. To him, at all events, it was a time of peace. Is it possible that, after all, the Jewish scribes who prefixed the title were not so stupid as we are accustomed to regard them, and thought of the period when "Judah and Israel dwelt safely, every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, from Dan even to Beersheba, *all the days of Solomon*" (1 Kings iv. 25). Be that as it may, what I wish to submit is that the Psalm, on this interpretation, if not a *quodlibet* of a "historical document," is "*a sang at least.*"

As to the view that the Psalms are all the expression of the "Church-consciousness" of the post-exilian Judaism, that is a matter of opinion; but that the Psalm, on this interpretation, is less spiritual or exalted, I strenuously deny. On the contrary, I maintain that a religion like this is the necessary foundation of any Church-religion worthy of the name. The current interpretation of the

Psalm reminds me of a palimpsest. The words that obtrude themselves upon the eye of the reader are those of some chronicler or scholiast; but beneath and between the letters gleams forth the "holy writ" of the old gospel. And I cannot persuade myself that the original poet had so mean an estimate of his art as to mar a fine figure, when he had got it, by an artificial application of it. Burns was right; personal godliness and domestic piety are the stability of any time; this is the subsoil into which even the loftiest prophecy and poetry must strike their roots for sustenance. And without the existence of such a religion in old Israel I cannot conceive how the nation could either have lasted so long as it did, or have had grace to sorrow after a godly sort when the evil day came.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

## *THE LIGHT OF GALILEE.*

### II.

"THE people which sat in darkness saw a great light."<sup>1</sup> This is the text borrowed by the Evangelist Matthew from a Hebrew prophet to convey an idea of the benefit that came to Israel, and specially to the northern part of the Holy Land, through the public ministry of Jesus, of which he is about to give an account. "A great light"—the light of the dark land of Galilee—such is his conception of Jesus as He appeared in the work which He commenced after His return from the Jordan. It is the Evangelist's way thus to illustrate with prophetic oracles the plain, simple, unadorned story of the evangel of the kingdom as told, say, in the earlier Gospel of Mark. Thereby he doubtless gratified his own liking, and at the same time

<sup>1</sup> Matt. iv. 16.

provided for the needs of his first Jewish Christian readers, helping them by this primitive apologetic to believe with a firmer faith that Jesus was the Christ. For them these prophetic, poetic quotations, which abound in the first Gospel, had greatly more apologetic value than they have for us; but they still possess undiminished, one might say ever increasing, worth, as showing us what the Evangelist saw in Jesus, and as aids to our seeing Him with the Evangelist's clear spiritual vision.

No happier instance of this use of prophetic texts to depict the career and character of Jesus can be found in the whole Gospel than the one above cited. The oracle is fitly and felicitously chosen, whether regard be had to the condition of the people among whom Jesus began to work, or to the aim and tendency of His ministry among them. Galilee was a land of spiritual darkness, not perhaps more than, or even as much as, other parts of Israel, say the southern province of Judæa, with Jerusalem for its centre, over which the deepest darkness brooded, that of sacerdotal Sadducaism, Rabbinical legalism, and Pharisaic formalism. There was darkness of every sort there, as throughout Israel: the darkness of irreligion and of counterfeit religion, of gross vice and of spurious sanctity, of minds indifferent to truth, and of minds longing for the knowledge of God but not knowing where to find it. Jesus brought what all needed—light, ample light, like that of day. His advent in Galilee was as a sunrise on a land that had long lain under the darkness of night. And His light, like that of the natural sun, was catholic, universal, impartial, shining on all: “on the evil and on the good,” on learned and ignorant, saint and sinner, reputable and disreputable; on lovers of old ways, and on men more or less dissatisfied with things as they were, and sighing for some new voice from heaven. It was a light rich in its variety, blending in its pure rays the prismatic hues of religious genius, gracious

love, serene wisdom, genuine holiness, and incorruptible moral integrity.

Jesus came to be a sun to all. He let His light shine from an unclouded sky freely, openly, all around; on hill and dale, in towns, villages, and rural retreats, in the synagogue, and on the highway. If any remained in darkness, it was not His fault. No class was overlooked in His plan or in its execution. Frequenters of the synagogues, and those who might not appear, or cared not to be seen there, scribes and social pariahs, seekers of pleasure and seekers after God—all had their opportunity. Even Jerusalem, though for a season shunned, was not neglected. Its turn came at last, and it got the message it needed: stern as the voice of doom, yet tender as the yearning voice of a mother.<sup>1</sup>

This large, comprehensive interpretation of the figure—"a great light"—was, I think, in the Evangelist's mind when he used it; and it must be in ours if we wish to form a clear, full, well-balanced view of our Lord's ministry as reported in the Synoptical Gospels. Justice to the metaphor demands that Jesus be conceived as deliberately aiming at serving the purpose of a light to *all classes of the community*, and as *actually accomplishing His aim* in the short period, all too brief as it appears, during which His ministry lasted. That will mean attaching more significance to some parts of Christ's work than most readers of the Gospels have been accustomed to assign to them. It means also, of course, taking Galilee as including all Israel, while implying that the light shone there with special brightness.

From a religious point of view the people of Israel as it existed in our Lord's time may be distributed into five classes:—

1. The respectable frequenters of the synagogue.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxiii. 37.

2. The social pariahs who might not or did not go there.

3. The "still in the land," the seekers after God, who would be most likely to welcome the new light of a prophet if he should arise.

4. The self-satisfied virtuosos in religion, who made an idol of the religious tradition, with the teachers who inculcated and transmitted the tradition.

5. The Sadducees, influentially represented by the priests.

To these might be added a sixth class, the Essenes, who, however, were a people apart, having no organic connexion with the community, and may therefore be left out of account. If the light of Jesus reached them at all, it would be as reflected from some of those who came directly into contact with His influence.

With reference to all the above-named five classes Jesus performed an illuminating function in the manner suited to each class.

No reader of the Gospels can fail to be impressed with the truth of this statement so far as classes three and four are concerned. The teaching on the hill, commonly called "The Sermon on the Mount," impressively exemplifies the extent and quality of the instruction given to men of teachable spirit, and the reports of encounters with Pharisees and scribes with equal obtrusiveness bear witness to a ministry of criticism upon the unteachable. But ordinary readers of the Gospels, it is to be feared, have but a very faint and inadequate conception of the service Jesus rendered in reference to the first, second, and fifth sections of Jewish society. It has scarcely entered into the mind of not a few that there was such a thing as a deliberately planned and earnestly executed ministry in the synagogues, and an equally deliberate and earnest ministry among the non-religious class; and, least of all, that even the Sadducees had a place in the beneficent purpose of the great Illuminator. All this is doubtless due in part to the

defective character of the records, which are extremely condensed and fragmentary, omitting much, and even in what is related making a few short sentences do service as the whole story of what was in reality a very considerable matter. But it is due also in no small measure to our not making enough of the little we are told, and failing to take in earnest what is seriously meant and is representative of much unreported detail. Nowhere more than in the Gospels is there need for historic imagination in the reader, enabling him to realize how much is implied in a brief notice like this, "He preached in their synagogues throughout all Galilee,"<sup>1</sup> or in the three sentences which tell the romantic tale of the gracious attitude of Jesus towards the "publicans and sinners" of Capernaum.<sup>2</sup>

1. On synagogue, custom-house, and lowest haunt of vice the light impartially, benignantly, shone; but first on the synagogue. The synagogue ministry was the first piece of work Jesus took on hand, for two reasons: first, because the synagogue offered a ready-made channel of influence; next, because the sooner that work was begun the less risk of interruption through the jealous interference of the professional religious teachers, a thing much to be dreaded, and inevitably to be encountered, sooner or later, by such an unconventional teacher as Jesus. In the light of this second consideration we understand the haste with which He left Capernaum as graphically described by Mark. He preaches in the synagogue of that town to-day, then departs to-morrow—departs before dawn while men sleep, lest an enthusiastic people detain Him. The plan is to preach in all the synagogues of Galilee, and Capernaum is simply the starting-point. She has had her benefit, and now away and on, on, ever on, till the work is done; no time to tarry anywhere; well if it be got even half through before the scribes are upon Him!

<sup>1</sup> Mark i. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Mark ii. 15-17.

To grasp the fact of this circular preaching tour it is necessary to rid our minds of a false impression based on a mistaken interpretation of the statement in Matthew iv. 13, Jesus "came and *dwelt* in Capernaum," that that town became from the commencement His fixed abode. All that can be said is that Capernaum was more of a home to Him than any other place. The ministry of our Lord was an itinerant, not a resident, ministry, and Capernaum was simply the centre from which He started on His excursions, and to which He returned after days, weeks, or it might be months of absence. The synagogue ministry might have required not months merely, but years, for the towns of Galilee were numerous; but there is reason to believe that from various causes it was only partially executed. One of these causes was the very success which attended the work, the popularity arising out of the impression made by Christ's preaching and by healing acts like the cure of the *leper*. After that cure—doubtless an incident of the synagogue ministry—Jesus, we read, "could no more openly enter a city, but was without in desert places."<sup>1</sup> That the scribes also had a hand in stopping the work may be inferred from the fact that on the return of the preacher to Capernaum they were lying in wait for Him.<sup>2</sup>

The Galilæan synagogues offered not only a ready channel but an inviting sphere. Jesus was not indifferent to such considerations. He let His light shine on all in the way best fitted to benefit, but He valued religious susceptibility. This He would find as readily as anywhere among those who would form His audience in a Galilæan synagogue. The Galilæans might be in some ways a benighted people. Living in a borderland, they might be impure in race, language, and religious custom; but they

<sup>1</sup> Mark i. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Mark ii. 6.

were cheerful, simple, open-hearted, lovers of freedom, and not too much enamoured with the ways of the scribes. If Jesus taught not as the scribes, they would be prompt to notice the difference, and be the better pleased with the preacher on that account. They would give Him close attention and an appreciative hearing. It might be difficult to speak to such an audience on the kingdom of God without creating misapprehension—thoughts of political independence and a restored kingdom of Israel, rather than of righteousness, peace of conscience, and joy in the Holy Ghost. If that could be prevented, Jesus would know how to do it. The great gathering on the north-east side of the lake, when the thousands were fed and the project was entertained of making Jesus a king, may be taken as a proof that His attempt to guide the thoughts of the people into a spiritual channel had been the reverse of successful. There is reason, however, to believe that that misguided enthusiasm was the result of the house mission of the twelve, which seems to have been designed as a supplement to the ministry of the Master in the synagogue, and may have been carried on chiefly in those places which He had not been able to overtake. Their preaching, or talk rather, would consist largely of *anecdotes of the Master*, reports of popular parables originally forming parts of His synagogue addresses, and of some of the marvellous cures He wrought, with crude digests of the things He was wont to say about the kingdom, very imperfectly understood by themselves, and likely to be more seriously misunderstood by their hearers. But at the worst, and supposing the dangerous enthusiasm referred to to have arisen out of the Master's own preaching, it is always a comfort to speak to an audience that is alive, open-minded, open-hearted, capable of any sort of generous self-abandonment, not hidebound by formalism, and frozen with indifference and sceptical cynicism. Such were the Galilæans, and there-

fore Jesus loved to preach to them; and so He became "the light of Galilee."

2. The ministry among the "publicans and sinners" followed that in the synagogues. It was undertaken soon after the return to Capernaum from the preaching tour. The classes in question began to show an interest in Jesus, and to follow Him.<sup>1</sup> He noted the fact with pleasure, and resolved to avail Himself of this freshly-opened door, the result of His plans being the so-called feast in Matthew's house, which in reality was a great gathering of the social pariahs to hear, and to eat in order to the better hearing. I do not propose here to expatiate on this new form of evangelic activity; the one point I desire chiefly to insist on is that we must cease to think of this meeting as accidental, or incidental, and begin to regard it as deliberate and designed, and as representing a co-ordinate and quite important department of that intense though short-lived movement by which Jesus made Himself the spiritual sun of Israel. Here were poor people whose lives and souls were dark enough; how could the great Illuminator pass them by? No fear of His doing that, for the light they most needed was just that which He could supply in abundance—the light of *love*, of which from all other quarters there came not to them a solitary ray. Jesus became their light by being their Brother, to their glad surprise and to the scandal of all others. What He said to them we know not, or perhaps we do; for what if the parables of finding things lost formed the kernel of the sermon? But how much He said simply by being there! "Blame who may, I hereby affirm my brotherhood with you. I say God is *your* Father also. I declare my belief in the possibility of pure, spiritual, saintly life even for you; I see in vision, as the outcome of this meeting, passionate devotion to the kingdom, the poetry of self-

<sup>1</sup> Mark ii. 15.

consecration to God, alabaster boxes broken, fervent kisses of enthusiastic followers bestowed, crosses willingly borne, lives cheerfully sacrificed. 'Hopeless characters,' say ye cold critics who stand outside thinking evil thoughts? I decline to recognise finality in evil. Artesian wells may spring up from beneath the hardest rock, and 'sparks from heaven transpierce earth's coarsest covertures.'" Behold how the blessed, beauteous Sun of Righteousness arises with healing in His wings!

3. For the men of good will and teachable spirit Jesus also arose with the mild, benignant light of *wisdom*. From the first He was on the outlook for such men. He expected to find them, and with reason. For it is a poverty-stricken time in which no such men are to be found in a community. In a dark time like that into which Jesus was born, it is almost a matter of course that there shall be found in considerable numbers persons who may be described as religious malcontents, getting no light for their minds in current teaching, no rest for their souls in established moral and religious custom; sighing, praying for a new message from heaven, and giving prompt welcome to it when it comes. What a comfort in such a time the advent of a man like the Baptist—one man at least in earnest, and in contact with reality! A still greater boon will be the advent of a Jesus endorsing the Baptist's message, and bringing another, grander, more winsome, more satisfying. You may expect to meet some of these seekers after God first at the Jordan, devoutly listening to the preacher of repentance; then, later, in the company of the Greater One. Be not surprised at the readiness with which they respond to His call. The acquaintance may be slight, but their hearts are prepared, and His eye can detect in their faces the subtle indications of preparedness—souls longing for the true Master. Union is certain, and it will be fruitful.

In course of time a disciple-circle gathered around Jesus ; two circles, rather : an outer, larger one, and an inner, more intimate one, whom He constituted into a body of twelve. These societies, united by spiritual affinity, especially the smaller, He took pains to instruct. It was not easy to find the necessary time and leisure. The ever-growing crowds from Galilee and elsewhere pressed in upon the admired Preacher and Healer with incessant and insatiable demands for words and deeds of grace. But the over-tasked Master made time, and eagerly sought leisure for what He felt more and more to be a more important task than attending to the wants of the multitude. For it became clear as time passed that the earlier ministry in the synagogues was not going to issue in satisfactory results. Of popularity there was more than enough, but what comfort could be found in that if, where much seed had been sown, there was but a scanty promise of a crop, and if, after an abundant blossom, there was to be no ripe fruit ? Such was the depressing thought in the mind of Jesus on the day of the parable-discourse from the boat. That discourse, made up probably of parables on sowing, interspersed with comments, was a review and criticism of past evangelic work, and when it was delivered the Speaker had made up His mind to devote more attention to the good soil, the men of good and honest heart, who were likely to yield in due season thirty, sixty, or an hundred fold. He had, indeed, begun to do that already, for the retreat to the hill had for its aim to secure a quiet interval for disciple-instruction, and the so-called *Sermon on the Mount* was the astonishing result. It was the first of a series of retreats in different directions, having the same end in view.

The "Sermon on the Mount" was not a sermon—not preaching, but teaching, and the audience was not the multitude, but disciples. A contrary impression is indeed given by Luke's narrative, and in part even by Matthew,

but we must hold that the more exact tradition has been preserved by Mark, who, though he does not report the "Sermon," reproduces most clearly the situation.<sup>1</sup> That he does no more is not surprising. It is no disparagement of the Apostle Peter, his source, to say that he probably did not distinctly remember the details of the teaching on the hill, and even if he did, he was not likely to use them in the popular addresses whose contents are summarised in the Second Gospel. The preservation of the teaching is probably due to the fact of some disciple having taken notes, and no one was more likely to do that than Matthew, to whom tradition ascribes the compilation of the *Logia*. But it may be asked, If Peter, Mark's apostolic authority, was silent as to the teaching, what occasion could he have to refer to the hill retreat at all? The answer must be, Because he remembered vividly an important event that took place there. The Master there made the twelve, of whom he, Peter, was one. And Mark deemed this one fact worth recording, though of what took place, further, during the sojourn on the hill-top he had nothing to communicate. And he is more careful than either of his brother evangelists in reporting the precise circumstances amid which the event took place. An immense crowd is gathered below; they jostle Jesus, the centre of attraction, in their eagerness to get near Him. He is weary and heart-sick, and wishes to get away from this confusion and excitement, in which it is impossible to do any real good. He resolves to ascend the hill; and He takes with Him a band of men, perhaps volunteers, who understand His purpose, and act under the instinctive guidance of spiritual affinity. Out of these He ultimately selects the twelve, to whom, either alone or along with the outer circle of companions who had joined Him from

<sup>1</sup> Mark iii. 9-19.

the crowd, He communicates the precious instruction reported by Matthew and Luke. All present are *hearers of promise*, offering to the Teacher a more or less good soil for the doctrine of the Kingdom.

Incomparable doctrine! Only once in the whole history of the world have such simple yet profound words of wisdom been spoken in the ears of men. How amply they justify the expression, "a great light"! A great light, indeed; fit to be the light not of Galilee alone, but of the whole world. Compare this discourse on the hill with Plato's *Republic*, [also in its way a discourse on the Kingdom of God—brilliant, wise, and in the main morally wholesome, yet long, elaborate, wearisome, and a strange mixture of wisdom and folly, valuable and valueless, and with only a percentage of the perennial in its many pages. How much is said here in small compass! and how well said, the highest thoughts spoken with the ease of common conversation, in language Jewish in colour, but cosmopolitan in import, all valid still, and hardly needing translation into modern dialect to be perfectly intelligible! What variety of topic, and how complete the composite whole! the citizen of the Kingdom depicted in a few strokes; righteousness counterfeit and true set before our eyes in vivid contrast; the religion of ostentation exhibited in its hollowness and vanity side by side with the pure religion of the heart; God at last truly and adequately named, the golden rule enunciated in happiest terms, the royal law of love persuasively proclaimed, the care-free life of child-like trust commended in golden sentences which read like a lyric poem.

4. Jesus performed an illuminating function in reference to the religious teaching of the scribes and the religious practice of the Pharisees. These together formed the darkest feature of the spiritual night that brooded over the land of Israel. "If the light that is in thee be dark-

ness, how great is that darkness!" One who was able to be the true light of Israel manifestly could not escape the unwelcome task of a moral and religious critic. To what purpose come as a light and leave the deepest darkness unattacked? Even if the darkness prove impenetrable, the attempt to illuminate must be made; nor will the light be wasted; it will lighten ingenuous souls, if not the perverse religionists for whom it is primarily intended. Jesus did not shrink from the perilous duty, but spoke the needful words of exposure and rebuke as occasions arose, not a few of which have been preserved.

The anti-Rabbinic, anti-Pharisaic manifesto of Jesus is the least understood and appreciated part of the evangelic tradition. If they were frankly to speak their minds, some might express themselves about it in this fashion: "It is not light but lightning, at most it is light for that time, not for all time, and it is only by accident a part of Christ's light even for His own time and nation; therefore it may now safely be neglected." Not one of these positions is true. Our Lord's criticism of the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees is both light and lightning; it was emphatically light for His own time and people, but it is none the less very needful light for all time; it was not merely occasional and accidental light, but systematic and deliberately intended. Jesus spoke didactically to His disciples concerning the evil system in vogue, as well as polemically, as occasion arose, to its representatives; witness the elaborate contrast between true and false religious ideas and practices in the Sermon on the Mount. His didactic statement was certainly light, if His polemical utterances were scathing lightning. Even those stern words, which were blinding, destructive thunderbolts to the scribes and Pharisees, were, and still are, words of eternal life to all who know how to use them. What great emancipating utterances, brief, memorable, piercing to the heart

of things, as valid and valuable now as then, Jesus spake in His encounters with the religious guides and models of Israel! "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners"; "New wine must be put into new bottles"; "the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath"; "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice"; "Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which cometh out." What a loss to Christendom had these great words not been recorded, or had no occasion arisen for their being spoken! We cannot afford to treat them as the *obiter dicta* of a famous combatant in an extinct religious controversy. They concern us; it concerns us to understand them; we do not even yet understand them too well. The controversy is not extinct; in changing forms it is ever being revived. Rabbinism and Pharisaism are hard to kill; while the world lasts true Christianity, the religion of the spirit, will have to reckon with their deadly opposition, if not as open avowed foes, then under the more dangerous guise of special friends—traditionalism and formalism zealous for the letter, killing the spirit, betraying the sacred liberties of the religion of good hope, through which we draw nigh with filial confidence to God.

The polemical element in the Gospels possesses high value as a revelation of personal character. It shows the heroic side of Jesus: His absolute sincerity, His fearless courage, His masterly skill in using the weapons of defence and offence, combined with sublime superiority to the petty chicanery of religious controversy. What a boon to the world if those who bear His name had more of His moral temper, and less of the time-serving spirit which avoids the cross and works no redemption!

5. The Sadducees occupy a very subordinate place in the Gospels, and one might easily imagine it possible to render an adequate account of the light-giving function of Jesus

without taking them into consideration. That they are so much in the background is due to the temper of the party. They lacked religious zeal. They were "moderates" in religion, and were content with a very scanty creed and a minimum of pious practice. They were more live and let live, in their attitude towards men of a different type, than the Pharisees and scribes. They did not, like the latter, watch for Christ's halting. Many of the things He did contrary to existing religious custom were no offence to them; for they no more than He had faith in the Mosaic origin of the Oral Law, or attached importance to its innumerable prescriptions. They would see nothing amiss in the nonconformity of Jesus and His disciples. The one respect in which the life of the Jesus-circle would be distasteful to them was its unworldly, spiritual tone. With that, wherever it appeared, whether in the society whereof John the Baptist was the centre or in that which gathered around Jesus, they could have no sympathy. To a Sadducee John and Jesus would appear simply curious, unaccountable phenomena, creating a kind of philosophical surprise that any rational being could be so much in earnest about matters wholly visionary. In this these Jewish secularists were at one with the Pharisees, for they too, notwithstanding their devotion to religious punctilio, were secular in spirit, and valued the substantial goods of this life far more than the Kingdom of Heaven. Hence these two extremes sometimes met in common antagonism to the vital religion of the day; *e.g.*, at the Jordan, as unsympathetic spectators of John's baptism, and on the occasion when they united in a demand from Jesus of a sign from heaven, so revealing their common blindness to the signs of the times that were all around them.

The priests from of old were of the Sadducaic party. Sacrificial rites, not the traditions of the elders, were

their concern, and they combined attention to sacerdotal duty with a Sadducaic temper. Their moral tone was accommodating. The commercial traffic that grew up in the temple precincts in connection with the sacred feasts gave no trouble to their consciences.

Jesus bore witness against this phase of Jewish religious life as He had opportunity, sufficiently if not abundantly. First, didactically, though afar off and without naming the party in the Sermon on the Mount, when He pointed to the pagan solicitude about secularities as a thing to be shunned by disciples.<sup>1</sup> The Sadducees were the pagan element in contemporary Israel, as their predecessors had been philo-pagan in the days of old. Then, occasionally, as when He reproached the sign-seekers with spiritual blindness, and, again, when He gently charged the propounders of the resurrection-riddle with ignorance of the true sense of Scripture and of the power of God.<sup>2</sup> The sacerdotal Sadducees He more severely rebuked by a magisterial deed, the cleansing of the temple. That act of zeal was an outrage of conventional proprieties, and of course it was loudly condemned; yet, if there was any conscience left in the temple officials, they would feel that Jesus was right. It did not, we may be sure, cure the evil—that is not so easily and summarily done. But it was an effective protest. For once the light of heaven had flashed its dazzling rays into the murky darkness.

The light shone in the darkness, but the darkness apprehended it not. The Jews loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. They hated the light, and passionately sought to extinguish it. They succeeded, but their success was a failure. The cross only gave the light a commanding position and intensified brilliancy. In one sense the darkest fact in human history, the crucifixion, is

<sup>1</sup> Matt. vi. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xxii. 29.

in reality the most light-giving. A great light in life, Jesus became a greater in death, for Israel, for mankind.

"In the cross of Christ I glory,  
Towering o'er the wrecks of time;  
All the light of sacred story  
Gathers round its head sublime."

A. B. BRUCE.

### THE FAITH OF SCIENCE.

ARE religion and science antagonistic and mutually exclusive terms? Is religion fundamentally opposed to science and science essentially destructive of religion? Within quite recent years theological and scientific journals have resounded with records of wars and rumours of wars, of alternate victories and defeats, in the battle between these combatants. And although for the moment the voice of the tumult is almost hushed, and the flag of truce waves gently on the wind, yet it is probably only a truce, and not an abiding peace, which has been arranged between these long-contending rivals. For the basis of the truce is feeling and desire rather than principle and fact. On both sides there is a benevolent wish for a clear and strict delimitation of frontier in order that each combatant may have a definite and exclusive territory assigned to it. After these boundaries have once been settled there seems to be a general hope that each party in the long conflict will severely protect its own, and honourably abstain from invading the other's territory. It appears, moreover, to be taken for granted by large numbers of persons that the proposed treaty will provide that the territory of what is called "knowledge" shall become the exclusive domain of science, and that religion shall be absolute sovereign in the territory of "faith."

But what if no such fixed delimitation of frontier be-

tween science and religion is found to be possible? What if upon examination it be discovered that all knowledge of the positive kind is inseparable from faith, and that faith, unless it be rooted in knowledge, is not faith? What if there be no barriers of mountain ridge, or dividing current, or even discernible line between science and religion; if all attempts at the delimitation of their frontiers be as hopeless as in mid-ocean to define the boundaries of the interfluent waves, or in mid-air to assign an unalterable position to every bank in a continent of clouds? Yet, as we shall presently see, some such figure as that of intermingling clouds or interflowing waves better describes the true relation of science to religion, of knowledge to faith, than any such figures as territory and frontier, betokening, as they do, the possibility of clear separableness and definite delimitation. For the common notion that scientific knowledge is either positive or absolute is a delusion. Knowledge absolute is impossible to man. All human knowledge is relative (1) to the capacity of the knowing person, and (2) to the amount of evidence which that person possesses. But as no person is gifted with universal capacity, or is in possession of the universal evidence of all ages and all circumstances, it is obvious that his knowledge, however extensive, is yet partial; it is not universal, and therefore cannot be absolute.

The nearest approach to absolute knowledge possible to man is mathematical knowledge. Yet even mathematical knowledge is not absolute in the sense of being objectively certain without any reference to, or dependence upon, subjective capacity. To infants, *e.g.*, the rudimentary truth that twice one are two, and cannot be three, is neither a self-evident nor an absolute truth. It is necessary that the human mind should reach a certain stage in growth and clearness of perception before

the simplest mathematical truths become absolute to it. Their absoluteness, therefore, is not an absolute absoluteness, but an absoluteness relative to the stage of perceptive development. And what is more important still, it is an absoluteness, even in its maturity, wholly dependent on the assumption that the mind of man is of itself an unerring judge of truth; the assumption *i.e.* that the things which seem to man true are true. An admirable working hypothesis, no doubt; an hypothesis necessary both to thought and action, yet an hypothesis utterly incapable of absolute demonstration, or of abstract and final proof.

And the moment we leave the simplest statements of mathematics and begin to mount towards the region of its higher truths, the necessity of assumption, of making postulates, of taking things for granted, grows increasingly clear and imperative. Even the pure reason of Euclid is founded not only upon definitions and axioms which are partly of the nature of assumptions, but also upon postulates which are largely of the nature of a creed. "Let it be granted," says Euclid, "that a straight line may be continued to any length as a straight line." Here we have first to subscribe to the definition of a straight line, then to believe in the infinitude of distance, and lastly to believe that all given straight lines, and all given straight lines equally, are capable of projection into limitless infinitude. It would be interesting to know what conception the average man, with no special mathematical talent, is able to form of this fundamental postulate, upon which, together with similar postulates and definitions, the whole fabric of geometry is built, and without which Euclid's entire superstructure would instantly topple to the ground. It is evident that neither infinitude nor an illimitable straight line is demonstrable to the senses; you might

as well successfully attempt to draw the soul of man on a blackboard as a fully completed straight line. If a person has not within himself the notions of straightness, of space, and of infinitude (notions which are more or less common and clear to the generality of mankind), nothing remains for that person except to be an infidel, or an agnostic, or a sceptic with regard to straight lines and their projection to infinity, because to his senses they are wholly undemonstrable.

Without entering into the deeper questions raised by Riemann and Grassmann and Helmholtz concerning the properties of space and the fundamental axioms of geometry, it is evident to the plainest man that the axioms and postulates, and even some of the definitions in which axioms are tacitly involved, propounded by Euclid are *a priori* assumptions depending for their acceptance, not upon logical proof, but upon the nature of man's consciousness, the inevitable intuitions of his intellect, and an experimental agreement of this consciousness and these intuitions with the general course and constitution of things. Belief in the truthfulness of man's consciousness and belief in the accuracy of his intuitional notions is a necessary precedent to the building up of mathematical knowledge. Without faith, faith in infinitude, faith in universality, and faith in the exactitude of man's relation both to the infinite and the universal, it is impossible to be a mathematician. The mathematician begins with faith; the substance of his science is things invisible, and he ends with what is called knowledge, the evidence of things seen to the existence and truth of things unseen.

And if faith, or the taking of things for granted which lie beyond the range of demonstration yet fit in with observed phenomena, is necessary to pure mathematics, much more necessary is it to physical science. It is not

too much to say that faith is quite as essential to physical science as to revealed religion. The whole basis of science is a basis of faith, of the indispensable assumption of unproved hypotheses, and of believing assent to undemonstrable tenets and theories. The uniformity of nature, *e.g.*, upon which the whole framework of physical science securely rests, is nothing more nor less than a sublime assumption. It is the creed of the apostles of science, yet only a creed. No man can know absolutely what shall be on the morrow; he can foretell it, and can act on the strength of his forecast, but until to-morrow has become to-day, until the fact has verified the prediction, the prediction belongs to the sphere of prophecy—probable and practical prophecy if you like, yet still prophecy—and not absolute knowledge. Similarly with the æons of the past. Directly we reach back beyond the age of history, whether in science or religion, we arrive at the age of faith. Nature is sometimes described as a book in whose pages are written the records of prehistoric times. It is a beautiful, and probably a true, figure, because a book implies an author, and an author implies a personal mind and will. Yet it is only a figure, and a figure drawn with the pencil of faith. For as to anything which may have taken place on our planet, let us say, a million years ago, we can have no absolute knowledge apart from assumption and belief. The geologist, *e.g.*, ingeniously describes the formation of the crust of the earth, but how many unproved and unprovable assumptions does his description take for granted—assumptions not only of almost inconceivable time, but of the operations of heat, and cold, and flood, on a scale of which humanity has had no experience, and therefore cannot positively know the action. “The noble science of geology loses glory from the extreme imperfection of the record. The crust of

the earth with its embedded remains must not be looked at as a well-fitted museum, but as a poor collection made at hazard and at rare intervals."<sup>1</sup> Some geologists assume that in prehistoric ages the surface of the earth was subject to upheavals and subsidences to which there are no parallels in historic times; others, that in ages of fire or ice or deluge there was still the same slow, sure, constant uniformity of operation in nature as we observe in the age in which we live. It is no part of my present purpose to discuss which of these geologic doctrines has probability on its side; I merely remark that both alike are doctrines, *i.e.*, theories requiring faith in things unseen, and beyond the reach of demonstration, as a preliminary of their acceptance. Nor does it seem to require more faith to believe that the worlds were made by God than that they were fashioned in their present form by the processes which geologists describe. Geology is as necessarily grounded in belief as Genesis, so far as the beginning of things and the formation of the cosmos is concerned.

A similar course of reasoning applies with more or less fulness to every department of material science. At the bottom all science rests on belief. The most rigorous scientific knowledge always lies under the necessity of taking something for granted. In every branch of enquiry man invariably arrives at a point beyond which he cannot logically go, and at which he is compelled to trust to assumption. To the materialist the character of matter is not more fully known than to the spiritual man is known the character of God. "No theory of the ultimate structure of matter," writes Prof. Calderwood, "has secured general acceptance. The atomic theory is a belief, for the existence of ultimate atoms, though generally acknowledged, is not established on experimental evidence. There is a

<sup>1</sup> Darwin's *Origin of Species*, p. 427.

region of faith for science, as for theology, just as there must be for all ordinary exercise of human intelligence." <sup>1</sup> And if the nature of matter has hitherto eluded the grasp of the human mind, far more inscrutable still is the nature of the never-resting, all-pervading energy which directs and rules the worlds—that wondrous, immeasurable, inexhaustible energy which manifests itself to man in many varieties of form—gravitation, expansion, light, heat, electricity, magnetism, and the like—but of which no one has been able to render a final analysis or ultimate account. Particles, molecules, vortex rings, indivisible atoms, fluid force, elastic solids—there is nothing in the Christian creed more intangible and impalpable, less visible and demonstrable, than these elemental assumptions of material science. The same remark holds good of æther. Æther is an assumption necessary to the maintenance of the orthodox modern doctrines of light and heat and sound as forms of motion. But no scientist can demonstrate positively and absolutely the existence of æther. All he can do is to show that the supposition of its existence is not an absurd supposition, not a supposition going against reason and the probabilities of the case; but, on the contrary, a reasonable supposition, a supposition running on all fours with observed phenomena, and interpreting and illuminating what would otherwise be unintelligible and dark. But unless the scientist had an universal knowledge of infinite possibilities he could not affirm, seeing that his æther is only an assumption, that light and heat and sound are generated and move in the manner he supposes, *and could not be generated or move in any other way*. And whatever falls short of both exclusive and inclusive demonstration partakes of the nature of belief.

And if some degree of assumption, or belief, is necessary to sciences so strict and rigid as those of pure and mixed

<sup>1</sup> *Religion and Science*, p. 91.

mathematics, it is still more indispensable, and in a yet higher degree, to all the sciences which pertain to life in any form. The nature of life, much more its origin, is as yet a mystery wholly unsolved. All attempts at the spontaneous generation of life from not-life have signally failed. Häckel and Schmitz have declared themselves, with an easy confidence unshared by profounder men, already able to enrol life among things comprehensible. But even they cannot count it among things creatable. Except from life, so far as our present knowledge reaches, life cannot spring. "I am convinced," said Prof. Tyndall, "that life cannot originate without life."<sup>1</sup> Some living germ or cell, some vitalizing protoplasm, is a precedent necessary to the generation of life. And from the mystic protoplasm which contains life no analysis, no cross-examining skill, has yet been able to charm the secret of its being. Religious persons believe that life comes from the Living God; scientific materialists believe that it comes from impersonal Nature; but both alike are compelled to use faith—the hand which lays hold of the intangible, and the eye which sees the undemonstrable, before they can apprehend the beginnings of life. No other instrument is left to them. If they refuse this, there remains for them only the blank void of agnosticism—agnosticism not only of God, but of Nature. If by "knowledge" be meant only an apprehension positive, absolute, demonstrable, then the origin of things in Nature, and very many also of Nature's processes, are as unknowable as the least demonstrable articles of religion.

It is sometimes alleged as a vice in the great argument of Bishop Butler that he lays too heavy a stress, and allows too large a scope, to the ignorance of man. Yet regarded simply as a fact, a fact patent and incontrovertible, and without reference to the inferences drawn from the fact, I doubt whether more frequent mention is made of man's

<sup>1</sup> Lord Tennyson's *Life*, II. 380.

ignorance and the narrow limits of human knowledge in Butler's *Analogy of Religion* than in Darwin's *Origin of Species*. I have never read any books more replete with the modesty of great knowledge, and the sweet persistence of unbounded faith, than those of Mr. Darwin. Every one is aware of his knowledge, but few seem to be equally cognisant of the strength and simplicity of his faith. Yet in one isolated respect the reading of his books is like reading Bishop Pearson on the Creed; the words "I believe" perpetually occur in them. He speaks constantly of natural selection as a "faith" or a "theory," never once as a fully established fact. After recounting some of his observations, observations of the greatest moment to his theory, he adds, "I fully believe this, though I dare not assert it positively." He speaks of difficulties appearing insuperable, of lessening them, of reconciling them with his theory, and of certain facts strengthening and corroborating his theory. But to Mr. Darwin his theory is never more than a theory. He does not claim for it the rank of a "logical deduction." All he says for it is that to his "imagination it is far more satisfactory to look at Nature" through the glass of his theory than through any other glass.<sup>1</sup> But if to the imagination of some other man, with an equal knowledge of the facts, a different interpretation appears preferable, what alternative is left for their differences of opinion except that with which we are so familiar in religion—the alternative of division?

The limits of human knowledge, the necessity of assumption as the ground-work of even the strictest reasoning, and the immensity of man's ignorance, are thus as obvious in the realms of biological science as in those of religion. Of course so long as biology confines itself to observation of things palpable, and experiment of things provable, and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Chapter VIII., *Origin of Species*, upon which this paragraph is mainly founded.

illustration of things demonstrable, it has little need of assumption, and can get on pretty well without hypothesis; though even in this limited sphere, as we have seen, some elemental presuppositions are necessary for the establishment of the most simple inference. Yet what a narrow world the world of strictly observational science is! It is a world without ideas—a world of dissociated and chaotic particulars; a world into which the sublimities of universality, of cause, of law, of order, of contrivance, of explanation, are forbidden to enter, because the admission of any of these sublimities involves the precedent admission of hypothesis. As Mr. Darwin observes, adopting a profound remark of Mr. McLennan's, "Some explanation of the phenomena of life a man *must feign* for himself."<sup>1</sup> Unless a man be content to dwell in utter darkness—darkness of the intellect as well as darkness of the soul—he must feign something, take something for granted on trust, *i.e.* believe something; for without hypothesis all knowledge worthy of man, all knowledge of a beautiful, orderly, expansive kind, is unattainable. A certain, yea, a very large, degree of agnosticism all men everywhere, both religious and scientific, must be satisfied to put up with. Ignorance is an inevitable part of our common human lot. Unconscious ignorance is the lot of the foolish, conscious ignorance the lot of the wise. It is only given to great knowledge to perceive the greatness of its own ignorance. It is not until we know as much as Sir Isaac Newton that we can know, as he knew, how little we know. As a rule, the less a man knows the more he thinks he knows; and the more he knows the more also he knows that he does not know. This is true both in religion and science. It was the vastness of Bishop Butler's knowledge which led him to lay such great stress on the argument from ignorance. Similarly it was the vastness of Mr. Darwin's knowledge which led

<sup>1</sup> *Descent of Man*, p. 94. The italics are mine, not Mr. Darwin's.

him humbly "to make due allowance," to use his own words, "for man's profound ignorance on the mutual relations of the inhabitants of the world at the present time, and still more so during past ages."<sup>1</sup>

And this ignorance reaches not only to the origin of things, the sources of matter and energy and life, the beginnings of mental, moral, and spiritual powers; it also comprises their present existence and operations. We know almost as little of the vital action and the ultimate interrelations of sensory and motor nerves, of the daily processes of thought, of the current motions of will, and of the constant apprehension of the authority of moral law, and the supremacy of duty, as of their primal genesis. All these are little more than words until they have been vivified and glorified by hypothesis. Then, and then only, do they become universal, majestic, sublime. It is hypothesis which interprets both the world to man, and man to himself; which quickens the universe with meaning and life; which clothes it with the glory of interest and order and law. And it comes to much the same thing in many ways—though in others being marvellously different—whether we describe an hypothesis by Mr. Darwin's word "feigning," or by the religious word "faith."

This will become still more evident if we examine the method of the generation of scientific hypothesis, or feigning. How does any hypothesis of science first come into being? In one of two ways; either by induction or deduction, *i.e.* by reasoning either from particulars to universals or from general assumptions to individual applications. All science flows either from the fountains of idea into the streams of fact, or along the rivers of fact into the ocean of ideas. Either in its origin, therefore, or its issue, science is an idea; a creation of the generalizing faculty of man. If it begins as an idea, it is a kind of inspiration,

<sup>1</sup> *Origin of Species*, p. 100.

a flash of light, an assumption or hypothesis shot through the mind, illuminating its inner chambers and glorifying with the enrobing beauty of order the former chaos of external things. Sometimes this inspiring flash suddenly bursts after long reflection on the subject—after (to use Newton's phrase) "long bending the mind towards the matter." It was thus that Newton discovered the law of gravitation, and Darwin the law of development. Sometimes, while a thoughtful person is brooding over one thing, the flash unexpectedly darts athwart some other thing. It was thus that Röntgen discovered the X rays. While pursuing his researches into electricity, he unexpectedly came across new properties of light, properties for which he was not seeking at the time. It should, however, be carefully noted that these flashes of discovery come only to men trained in habits of reflection. They do not illuminate the incurious, the inobservant, the thoughtless. Moreover the flash only irradiates some subject kindred, if not identical, with the subject on which a man is thinking. A man thinking of trees will not discover something of stars. To discover anything in a given kingdom of truth, a man must be thinking, and thinking of something either belonging to, or in the close neighbourhood of, that kingdom. The fact that Prof. Röntgen discovered properties of light while pondering over electricity is of itself an evidence of the close association between electricity and light. If, on the other hand, science begins with facts, the wide ingathering and systematic arrangement of facts, then the ideas of law and universality wait to follow at the end of the examination. Yet however vast the accumulation of facts, however long and careful the enquiry into them, still, unless it can be demonstrated that every fact at every time and under every circumstance comes beneath the sway, and can be interpreted by, the law inferred from the existing accumulation of facts—and can be interpreted

in no other way, which is equivalent to the demonstration of a negative—the law is only an idea, an assumption, a veritable creed, amounting to nothing more than a probability sufficient to vindicate our acting upon it.

It is obvious, however, that no length or breadth of experiment can so extend as to include universality, and exclude all other alternatives of analysis or interpretation; and thus be indisputably coincident with absolute law. Every schoolboy knows that in the physical universe there are laws counteracting laws, laws centripetal and centrifugal steadying and balancing one another, unifying laws within opposing laws—laws which dwell in the thick darkness as well as laws which are open to the light. No experiment, or series of experiments, can comprehend within its bounded scope all the possibilities of all the combinations and permutations of these multitudes upon multitudes of immeasurable laws. All that experiment can do is to prove the truth of the law as far as it—the experiment—goes, to show that it falls in with the anticipation, and that as far as it is concerned the generalization holds good and firm. Everything beyond this is hypothesis: it is what Mr. Darwin calls “feigning,” and what the Bible, in one of its various senses of the word, calls “faith.” It is the passing through the gates of the phenomenal to the regions of the transcendent; the testing of things invisible and universal by the evidence of things seen and particular.

Yet, notwithstanding its necessary reliance, in all “ultimities” and general enquiries, upon the arm of faith, nobody doubts that for all practical purposes the teachings of modern science are in many instances essentially true. What is it which gives rise to this feeling of confidence in the doctrines of science? Partly it is a trustful reverence for the true scientific temper. The true scientific temper is a modest open-minded temper—a temper ever ready to welcome new light, new knowledge, new experiments,

even when their results are unfavourable to preconceived opinions and long-cherished theories. It is a temper enthusiastically bent not upon proving things true which it has been taught to believe, but upon believing things which upon examination seem most likely to be true. It recognises that "the statement of a fact may, in nine cases out of ten, involve a theory";<sup>1</sup> yet its eagerness is not to establish the theory so much as to examine the fact. It is this patient appeal to the tribunal of fact which more than all else engenders confidence in the teachings of science. Science admits no ideas which are out of harmony with phenomena, no notions about things with which things themselves do not agree. It teaches that opinions which are contradicted by experiment, notions unverified by experience, doctrines that in practice will not work, are untenable. It can, indeed, occasionally give full and complete proof of its assumptions. It can say to Columbus, You believe, on the evidence of the driftage, that inhabited lands exist beyond the untraversed swellings of the Western main; go then and find them. It can say to Nansen, You believe in the existence of the polar currents and the steadiness of the direction in which they flow; in the strength of this faith leave home and wife and infant child and test this faith by the heroism of Arctic experiment. But the hypotheses of science often lie beyond the range of such complete and particular proof, as when it is dealing with measureless time and universal law. Still, even in these instances, it demands that the hypotheses shall not be contrary to reason or any known fact, but shall agree with all the facts as far as they are known, and shall be a reasonable interpretation of them. The scientific temper also demands that the door shall be always wide open for the entrance of new facts and better explanations.

This, then, is the character of scientific knowledge. It is,

<sup>1</sup> Dean Church's *Bacon*, p. 250.

in everything which relates to the prehistoric past and the unborn future, in everything appertaining to origins and causes, to ultimities and universalities, a knowledge based upon assumption, resting on faith. To rid itself of the necessity of faith Science would be compelled to descend from its heaven—its whole glorious upper region of law and order, of cause and effect, of the immeasurable past and the invisible future—and content itself with the little nether world of personal observations and recorded experiments and Hume's invariable sequences. To know anything, even scientifically, beyond the particular, and within the visible, faith is a prerequisite; something must be taken for granted and "feigned." No delimitation of frontier, therefore, between faith and knowledge is possible even to science without the sacrifice of the greater part of scientific knowledge—of the whole of it, indeed, worth keeping except for the sake of money profit and material utility.

Before concluding this paper it may, perhaps, be permissible to add a few notes, from the side of religion, upon the remarkable parallelism and kinship between the faith of religion and the faith of science. In some respects, indeed, Christian faith—to take the most conspicuous instance in the Western world of religious faith—is different from the faith of science. The Christian religion is mainly a personal matter, and its faith is largely a faith in Persons; the Three Persons of the One God—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, together with a personal apprehension of the attributes of these Divine Persons and of such of their past and future actions as have been made known on the authority of revelation.<sup>1</sup> Subjectively, indeed, all faith, whether religious or scientific, is personal; no other concept of faith is possible to man. There must be a believer, *i.e.* a being

<sup>1</sup> It is the personal objectivity of religious faith which inspires it with feelings, such as affection, devotion, reverence; unlike anything felt towards impersonal objects.

with a capacity for believing, before there can be a belief. But, objectively, the grand and fundamental difference between religious and scientific faith is personality. Both scientist and Christian understand invisible things by things visible. They have no other means of understanding them; an hypothesis must be interpreted by "the things which are made," else it cannot be interpreted at all. But Christian faith, unlike the feignings of science, personifies its hypothesis; and on the evidence of "the things which are made," believes not only in eternal power, but in the Personal God.

Apart, however, from the objective personalities of religious faith, there are several close similitudes between religious faith and the faith of science. Religious faith, in its truest, fullest sense, is not untested opinion or fluid imagination or mere traditional creed. Religious faith, like scientific faith, can be tested by experiment, and proved in particular instances, and made sure in the laboratory of individual experience. Of course it is necessary to fulfil the conditions of any experiment before the experiment will yield its promised results. There are multitudes of scientific experiments which, if conducted in unrayed darkness and fetid air, would not be likely to prove a great success. Experiments require both their proper atmosphere and their proper light. If you extract all the oxygen from a laboratory, that laboratory becomes unfit and useless for experiment. To make experiments in electricity there must be the presence of electricity. Similarly, you must first have faith before you can make experiments in faith. If you extract belief from the laboratory of prayer, you can make no experiments in prayer. But in religion, as in science, if you fulfil the conditions of the experiment—if you conduct it with proper light and air and heat—the experiment of trust in a Personal God will prove as unfailing and sure as an experiment in any department of philoso-

phical science. The test of the truth of Christian belief, like the test of the truth of scientific hypothesis, lies in the witness of the individual instance to the certainty of the several hypotheses. By proper trial I can know as assuredly that God is as that gravity attracts.

Finally, as scientific discoveries come only to those who bend their minds that way; as Nature will not reveal herself to those who do not bow with the homage of patient, reverential labour before her shrine, so is it also with religious discovery, the discovery of God and His Christ. Upon them who are careless and incurious, as also upon them who, although deeply thinking, do not think in the Christian plane of thought, the inspiration, the flash, of the Gospel light will not burst. But let a man only bend his mind that way, let him work and toil to penetrate the secrets of the Gospel with an assiduity equal to that with which he labours in the workshops of Nature; and he will find that his discoveries in religion will not be less plenteous, though perhaps less communicable, than his discoveries in science. He will also find that the borderland between religion and science is not a barren ridge between hostile tribes, but a fruitful stream into which the waters of both territories flow, and by which both alike are mutually enriched. In the end religion will prove as necessary to the perfection of science as we have seen faith to be necessary to the enlargement and consummation of knowledge.

JOHN W. DIGGLE.

### THE NAME ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ.

THE meaning and derivation of the form *Χριστιανός* seem hardly to have been so carefully discussed as the importance of the word demands. The aim of the following observations is to show that the new name carried with it certain associations which would account for its origin and give a point to the witticism from which it is supposed to have sprung.

We assume for the present that the name was given to the disciples of Christ by the pagan population of Antioch. The name so far recognised in the early Church had been the brethren (*ἀδελφοί*), the disciples (*μαθηταί*), those of the way (*οἱ τῆς ὁδοῦ*), the believers (*οἱ πιστεύοντες*), the called (*οἱ κλητοί*), the saints (*οἱ ἅγιοι*), and, perhaps, we may add, as a designation bearing on the present discussion, those who are Christ's, or the men of Christ (*οἱ Χριστοῦ* (1 Cor. v. 23).

None of these names, however, was destined to be the permanent and distinguishing title of the community founded by Christ. St. Luke narrates the origin of the new name as follows: "They therefore that were scattered abroad upon the tribulation that arose about Stephen travelled as far as Phœnicia, and Cyprus, and Antioch, speaking the word to none save only to Jews. But there were some of them, men of Cyprus and Cyrene, who, when they were come to Antioch, spake unto the Greeks also, preaching the Lord Jesus. And the hand of the Lord was with them: and a great multitude that believed turned unto the Lord. And the report concerning them came to the ears of the Church which was in Jerusalem: and they sent forth Barnabas as far as Antioch; who, when he was come, and had seen the grace of God, was glad; and he exhorted them all that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord: for he was a good man, and full

of the Holy Ghost and of faith: and much people was added unto the Lord. And he went forth to Tarsus to seek for Saul: and when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch. And it came to pass, that even for a whole year they were gathered together with the Church, and taught much people; and that the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch" (*χρηματίσαι τε πρώτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς*) Acts xi. 20-26.

On these circumstances, in which the name of Christian originated, we remark, that the name was unknown to the Church in Jerusalem, and that St. Luke connects it with three important incidents in the progress of the Church, the first of which is the communication of the Gospel to the Hellenists (v. 20); and, as we learn from the Epistle to the Galatians (ii. 12, 14, 15), to the Gentiles also in the densely populated city of Antioch, the capital of Syria.

The second incident in connection with the imposition of the name of Christian is the arrival of Barnabas in Antioch, the powerful and persuasive preacher, as his name, *υἱὸς παρακλήσεως*, implies. St. Luke notes the fact of his preaching (*παρεκάλει*, v. 23) at Antioch, and makes it clear that the effect was considerable (*καὶ προσετέθη ὄχλος ἰκανὸς τῷ κυρίῳ*), v. 24. By this time, therefore, the name of Christ and the existence of the community of believers would, doubtless, be widely known beyond the limits of the Church itself.

It was at this crisis that Barnabas went to Tarsus to seek Saul—the third incident recorded by St. Luke in connection with the name of Christian. Saul was, we may be sure, in entire sympathy with the work which had been going on in Antioch. His presence would undoubtedly give a great impulse to the process of conversion. His personality, his zeal, his ceaseless energy, would arrest attention, and draw crowds to listen, as afterwards in the cities of Galatia and Asia.

The fame of the wonderful teacher would spread among the Gentiles to whom St. Paul felt himself bound by special commission to address himself. And though there would be esoteric teaching for the circle of believers, the Gospel would be freely preached to all who came to hear. We cannot doubt, therefore, that not only the name of Christ, but some of the leading words and arguments of the apostolic teaching would now be diffused among the proverbially witty citizens of Antioch, and made the subject of jesting allusion.

Other instances of the kind occurred in the course of St. Paul's preaching. At Philippi a poor slave girl caught up the word "salvation" (σωτηρία) from the apostles' lips (Acts xvi. 17). At Thessalonica the preaching of the Messiah-King is distorted into a charge of treason (Acts xvii. 7). At Athens the keynote of the Apostle's preaching, the resurrection from the dead—*ἡ ἀνάστασις*,—is fastened upon as a fitting object for mockery (Acts xvii. 32).

Now there are two topics which we may, with some confidence, assume to have been prominent in the teaching of St. Paul at Antioch: one, the proclamation of the kingdom of heaven, and of Christ as the King of that kingdom; the other, the representation of the life of discipleship as a warfare—the thought of the soldier of Christ.

1. The first of these topics was from the beginning a note of the preaching of the gospel. The voice crying in the wilderness was the voice of a royal herald. The expressions used in Luke iii. 4, 5 are appropriate to the victorious advance of a great king. And the Lord Jesus, at His coming, confirms the proclamation of His herald. He preached the gospel of the kingdom (Matt. iv. 23). And when, after His Resurrection, He discoursed with His disciples about the future of His Church, He is described as speaking to them of "the things pertaining to the

kingdom of God" (Acts i. 3). The Lord's Prayer itself contained the words, and every believer prayed daily for the realization of the kingdom of heaven.

But to the pagan listener the terms βασιλεύς and βασιλεία meant more than king and kingdom; they meant emperor and empire. This is certainly the meaning of βασιλέα ἕτερον in Acts xvii. 7; and in 1 Timothy ii. 2, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, and 1 Peter ii. 17 τὸν βασιλέα τιμᾶτε, the apostles are, of course, thinking of the Emperors Claudius or Nero. And the same usage is found in the later Greek historians. Consequently the words applied to Christ and His kingdom would, if taken seriously, have a treasonable significance (Acts *loc. cit.*); if otherwise taken, they would serve to point a jest, as in the cruel mockery of the Saviour by the soldiers of Herod (Luke xxiii. 11) or Pilate (Matt. xxvii. 30).

2. The conception of the religious life as a warfare, or campaign, is not found in the Old Testament writers; and in the New Testament, though not confined to the Epistles of St. Paul, is more frequent with him than elsewhere, and is certainly a favourite Pauline mode of presenting the gospel. For instances of this, see 1 Timothy i. 18, ἡ στρατεία τὴν καλὴν στρατείαν (where the article perhaps implies the familiarity of the expression); 1 Timothy vi. 12, ἀγωνίζου τὸν καλὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς πίστεως; 2 Timothy ii. 3, ὡς καλὸς στρατιώτης Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. In Colossians ii. 5 τὴν τάξιν and τὸ στερέωμα are both military terms, "orderly array, and solid front" (Lightfoot). Compare also Acts xiii. 40, ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον; 1 Corinthians xiv. 8; 2 Corinthians x. 3, 4.

If, then, a travesty of St. Paul's preaching presented to the Greek citizens of Antioch the picture of a rival Emperor, Christos, supporting his sovereignty by a military force of slaves, and Jews, and others of small account, a nickname tersely expressing the sense of ridicule would rapidly grow

pre  
son  
dres  
Le w  
possi  
had  
2 *Cor.*  
apostl  
Timot  
they ha  
one jo  
*Titus.*

The (fore, is opinion v add imp: gregation Ephesian mentioned have been congregati Jerusalem out of the of view, s brethren at the work, i verted. An and it wou that all the letter.

The same

<sup>1</sup> Salutations  
at the beginnin  
etc., hosts of w

<sup>2</sup> *St. Paul the*  
in his house, for



into popularity. Such a nickname we believe "Christiani" to have been, as we shall endeavour to show.

The termination *-ανός*, or *-ιανός* is Latin rather than Greek. As a Greek termination it was used only in forming derivatives from the names of cities, as *Σαρδιανός*, *Αγκυρανός*; compare the similar form *Κυζικηνός* (Jelf. § 338 g.; Winer, part ii., § xvi.). A purely Greek formation would have given *Χρίστειοι* or *Χριστικοί*, like *Ἐπικούρειοι*, *Λυκούργειοι*, *Πλατωνικοί*, *Δημοσθενικοί*.

In Latin the termination *-ianus* or *-anus* is used chiefly in derivatives from proper names. The adjectives thus formed signify what belongs to a man or is named after him; *e.g.*, *Æmilianus*, *Claudianus*, *Fabianus* (Madvig, § 189; Roby, bk. iii. p. 308).

From the nature of the case it follows that such derivatives usually related to persons of distinction, who had a party attached to them; hence the adjectival nouns, *Mariani*, *Cæsariani*, *Pompeiani*, *Crassiani*, *Luculliani*. Of these, it will be noted that the last two are nearest in form to *Christiani*. It will also be noted that the form became very suggestive of the soldiers or partizans of the great generals who rose to eminence in the closing days of the Republic. Compare *Brutianæ Cassianæque Partes*, *Vellei. l. 2, c. 74*. Under the Empire the same formation of name carried with it the association of close connection with the person of the Emperor. Here we have the germ idea of *Christiani*, soldiers attached to the personal service of the King or Emperor Christ. Such current forms in relation to imperial personages as *Cæsarianus*, *Tiberianus*, *Claudianus*, would readily suggest the new name. But another word came into vogue soon after this period (and may have existed previously) which affords even a better illustration. Tacitus and Suetonius narrate that under Nero a select body of Roman knights was enrolled, whose duty it was to attend on the Emperor and load him

with adulation. To this body the name of Augustani or Augustiani was given. The words of Tacitus are: "Tunoque primum conscripti sunt Equites Romani cognomento Augustanorum, ætate ac robore conspicui. . . . Hi dies ac noctes plausibus personare, formam Principis vocemque Deum vocabulis appellantes" (*Annal.* xiv. 15). Compare Suetonius, *Nero*, 25: "Sequentibus curram ovantium ritu plausoribus, Augustianos, militesque se triumphij ejus clamitantibus." To this we may add the proper name Sebastian, Σεβαστιανός, the precise equivalent in Greek to Augustianus, and closely corresponding in form to Χριστιανός, being a Greek derivative with a Latin termination. Moreover, the well-known Saint Sebastian was a Christian soldier in the body guard of the Emperor Diocletian; and it is not impossible that Sebastian was not strictly a proper name, but the title of his official position.

The name, given in jest, struck the true note of the Christian life and position and aims. When the Emperor Julian (his own name a counterpart of Christian) pronounced those memorable words, "O Galilean, Thou hast prevailed," it was a declaration that, in the conflict of two empires, Christ the King had won the victory.

The name of Christian, coming as it did from a hostile source, did not at first win acceptance among the disciples. It occurs thrice only in the New Testament, viz. Acts xi. 26, xxvi. 28, and 1 Peter iv. 16. In each case it appears as a name recognised by those who are outside the community of believers. In Acts xi. 26 the word χρηματίζει implies this. It was the name by which the disciples were known in their dealings with the external world. In chapter xxvi. 28 there is a tone of derision and contempt in the way in which the word is used by Agrippa. Again, in 1 Peter, the reference must be to the slave-owner or persecutor who punishes or illtreats his slave or inferior simply because he is a Christian.

Before long, however, the name of Christian came not only to be used by believers, but to be gloried in. Chrysostom, addressing the citizens of Antioch, says: *καθ' ὅπερ Πέτρος ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πρῶτος ἐκήρυξε τὸν Χριστόν, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν αὕτη πρώτη ὥσπερ στέφανόν τινα θαυμαστόν, τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀνεδήσατο προσηγορίαν* (Homil. iii.). "As Peter was the first among the apostles to preach the Christ, so was this city the first to be crowned with the name of Christian as with a diadem of wondrous beauty."

But with its reception into the Church fresh interpretations were given to the name of Christian, and it was consecrated by associations widely differing from those with which it originated. Theophylact (on St. Mark, p. 283) speaks of the name as bringing believers into union with the name and office of Christ: *Χριστιανοὶ λεγόμεθα τοῦτό ἐστι, κεχρισμένοι καὶ αὐτοί, ὥσπερ τότε οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐλέγοντο χριστοί*. "We are called Christians, having ourselves been anointed, just as kings used to be called anointed ones." So Theophilus: *ἡμεῖς τούτου ἕνεκεν καλούμεθα Χριστιανοί, ὅτι χριόμεθα ἔλαιον θεοῦ*. "We are called Christians because we are anointed with a divine unction." Again, *τῇ μετοχῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν τοῦ Χριστιανοῦ προσηγορίαν ἐσχίκαμεν* (Gregory Nyssen, iii. p. 270). "Through sharing the Christ have we received the name of Christian." Hence the name came to be intimately linked with baptism. Cyril of Jerusalem writes: *τούτου τοῦ ἁγίου χρίσματος καταξιοθέντες καλεῖσθε Χριστιανοί, ἐπαληθέσοντες τῇ ἀναγεννήσει καὶ τὸ ὄνομα*. "Being deemed worthy of this holy Chrism (or unction), ye are called Christians by regeneration affirming this name."

But what, perhaps, more than anything else, stamped the name of Christian with an undying association of sacredness was its connection with martyrdom. It became the test-word of faith. The martyr Lucian had but one answer to all questions, says Chrysostom. Asked what

was his country, his mode of life, his ancestry, each time he answered *Χριστιανός εἰμι*.

The name originally imposed by way of scorn having thus become linked with the holiest associations, an attempt was made, under the Emperor Julian, to stigmatize Christianity by a fresh word of contempt. He was accustomed, says the historian Socrates, to call Christ "the Galilean," and Christians "Galileans"; and Gregory of Nazianzus states that Julian endeavoured to enforce this change by a public decree. This Emperor's last words, already cited, marked the failure of this and all his other attempts to stamp out the name or the life of Christianity. So swift indeed was the reversal of Julian's policy that his successor Jovian refused to assume the important dignity until his soldiers had declared themselves Christians: *ὥς οὖν φωνὴ κοινὴ πάντοτε ἐγένετο, ὁμολογοῦσα καὶ αὐτοὺς εἶναι Χριστιανούς, δέχεται τὴν βασιλείαν* (Socr., *Eccl. Hist.* iii. c. 22).

ARTHUR CARR.

*MAGNA EST VERITAS ET PRÆVALET.*

It may perhaps be within the recollection of some readers of these lines that in the *EXPOSITOR* for January, 1886, I wrote an article on the "Cosmogony of Genesis," in which I pointed out the discrepancies subsisting between the order of creation, as exhibited in Genesis i., and the order as established by the teachings of modern science; and after reviewing the principal attempts which had been made to reconcile them, concluded by indicating what I conceived to be the true value and significance of the cosmogony. The justice of my conclusions was, I believe, recognised by many at the time; and more recently, writers of the stamp of Prof. Kirkpatrick,<sup>1</sup> Prof. Ryle,<sup>2</sup> the Abbé Loisy,<sup>3</sup> and Principal Whitehouse,<sup>4</sup> have expressed themselves quite similarly. But what I said met with some contradiction, especially in America. On the strength of what I had stated the grounds for fully in the *EXPOSITOR*, I ventured, in an article contributed to the *Sunday School Times* of December 18th, 1886, to say that the order of creative events as exhibited in Genesis i. was "fundamentally different" from the same order as taught by science; and that a mind trained in the precise and rigorous methods of scientific investigation could at once detect the fallacies which underlay every attempt to prove these two orders identical. An editorial note called attention to the fact that, in making this statement, I differed from "Prof. Dana, Sir J. W. Dawson, and other eminent scientists, whose opinions," it added, were "cited on another page." The article referred to emphasized in strong terms the

<sup>1</sup> *Divine Library of the Old Testament* (1891), p. 98 ("The first chapter of Genesis is not, as we now know, a scientifically exact account of Creation").

<sup>2</sup> *Early Narratives of Genesis* (1892), chaps. i. and ii.

<sup>3</sup> In the second of five excellent and ably written articles, reprinted in *Les Études Bibliques* (Amiens, 1894).

<sup>4</sup> In the art. "Cosmogony," in the new *Bible Dictionary*.

scientific eminence of the two authorities just named; pointed out that they had declared Genesis and geology to be reconcilable; charged those who ventured to differ from them with an "impatient dogmatism," as well as with "temerity and presumption"; and warned men "of inferior scientific attainments" to be careful lest they "exposed themselves to contempt" by maintaining the contrary. The article very adroitly concealed the real point at issue: for, as of course it was only upon *scientific* ground that the authority of scientists could be appealed to as decisive, it led the reader naturally to suppose that it was there that the controversy entirely lay; whereas, in point of fact, no one controverts the statements of *scientific* fact made by the scientists referred to; the controversy is simply whether these facts, accepted *precisely as stated by them*, agree or do not agree with the narrative of Genesis. And this is a question on which the Hebrew scholar and student of language, as indeed the man of general culture and intelligence, is entitled to be heard quite as much as the specialist in geology. The writer of the article was also careful not to explain to his readers the *method* by which the two eminent geologists whom he referred to effected their reconciliation: had he done so, it would at once have been apparent not only how frequently their explanations were mutually contradictory, but also upon what paradoxical assumptions many of the steps in their argument depended. Manifestly the writer attached no value to a plain and simple statement of the facts.

At the time of writing my article in the EXPOSITOR, though I had carefully studied Sir. J. W. Dawson's view, I was not aware that Prof. Dana had written on the subject. Naturally, upon discovering that he had done so, I lost no time in procuring his article:<sup>1</sup> I was eager to know if, where so many had failed, he had succeeded. The results of

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliotheca Sacra*, April, 1885, pp. 201-224.

my study of it I published in the *Andover* (U.S.A.) *Review*, December, 1887, pp. 639-649. In this article I first commented on the paper in the *Sunday School Times*, to which I have just referred. I protested against the charge of "impatient dogmatism," in which (though not mentioned personally) I was implicitly involved; and I pointed out that in differing from Professors Dana and Dawson, not on questions of scientific fact, but on the question whether or not the scientific facts, *as taught in their own scientific writings*, agreed or did not agree with the narrative of Genesis, there could be no "temerity" or "presumption." The question was no longer an exclusively scientific one; and others besides scientists were entitled, after a sufficiently careful study of it, to pass judgment upon it.<sup>1</sup> The particulars of my examination of Prof. Dana's theory I need not repeat: it will be sufficient if I state that he understands by "earth" and "waters" in Genesis i. 2, 3, not anything which we should describe by those names, but matter in that unimaginable condition in which it existed, while yet "inert," *prior to its being endowed with force, and the power of molecular action* (pp. 208, 210); while by the same term "waters" in v. 6 he understands the attenuated substance of the universe, while yet diffused in a nebular form through space. Prof. Dana replied to my critique in the same review, February, 1888, pp. 197-200. I had no occasion to complain of either the manner or the matter of his reply. He did not, as some controversialists do, when more solid arguments fail them, disparage or vituperate his opponents, and he found no fault with my statements of scientific fact; on the contrary, he allowed that if the objections urged by me were insurmountable, science could only say

<sup>1</sup> I corrected the same strange misapprehension (viz. that I differed from Professors Dana and Dawson on points of geological fact) in this country, in two letters in the *Church Times*, Feb. 3 and 17, 1893.

that the cosmogony of Genesis was false. He did not seem altogether to insist upon his previous position, but took rather a broader and more general view of the harmony between Genesis i. and science. A small mistake which he made in thinking that a sentence of mine imputed to him a misrepresentation of the facts, I corrected in a note in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1888, p. 565 f. In an article (unsigned), written in a somewhat more antagonistic tone, in defence of Prof. Dana's position, which appeared in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1888, pp. 356-65, the author, while admitting that details in it were open to objection, argued that his theory of reconciliation "was in the main proved beyond reasonable doubt." And a comment upon my note on page 565 f. of the same volume shewed that the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of that date still adhered firmly to the reconcilability of Genesis i. with the teachings of science.

But since 1888 times have changed. In the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for April and July 1897, there appeared two articles<sup>1</sup> by President Henry Morton, of the Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken, New Jersey, in which the whole subject was reopened, and the arguments of the "Reconcilers" were subjected to a searching examination, with the result that, in substance, precisely the same conclusions are arrived at, which were reached by me twelve years ago in the *EXPOSITOR*. To this endorsement of my conclusions by a professed man of science, who is plainly also well able to appreciate the theological aspects of the question, I naturally attach no small weight. President Morton examines in detail, first the reconciliation of Prof. Guyot (pp. 11-39 of the reprint), then more briefly—for this theory is in many respects the same as that of Prof. Guyot, so that there is no necessity for repeating the same criticisms—that of Prof. Dana (pp. 39-43), then (pp. 43-50) that of Sir J. W.

<sup>1</sup> Since reprinted, in a separate form, under the title "The Cosmogony of Genesis and its Reconcilers."

Dawson, and lastly that of Mr. Gladstone (pp. 50-57) : his own view, in stating which he refers with warm approval to Prof. Henry Drummond's paper in the *Nineteenth Century* for February, 1886, follows pp. 57-62. I cannot well abridge the trenchant and detailed criticisms by which President Morton exposes, one after another, the unreality of all these schemes of reconciliation ; but, speaking generally, the rock upon which each in turn is wrecked is the extreme and incredible violence done to the text of Genesis, for the purpose of forcing its statements into harmony with what is taught by science.

Prof. Guyot, for instance, finds in the division of the waters below the "expanse" from those above it (v. 7) the separation of the "visible lower starry world" from the primitive luminous nebula ; and in the appearance of the dry land above the water (v. 9) the whole history of the earth according to the nebular hypothesis, including a stage in which it was a self-luminous sun ! How Prof. Dana understands the apparently simple terms *earth* and *water* has been stated already. Sir J. W. Dawson, if he treats the text of Genesis with less violence than this, nevertheless makes many other wholly unauthorized assumptions : he harmonizes the work of the Third Day, for instance, not with the history of the earth as attested actually by geology, but with an *assumed* history, which assigns to plants and trees a place in better conformity with the narrative of Genesis (p. 47 f.). President Morton expresses frequently his astonishment at these and the other extraordinary suppositions, by means of which the cosmogony of Genesis is "reconciled" with the cosmogony of science ; and at the singular paradoxes to which even able men will commit themselves, when a given opinion has at all hazards to be maintained. His general conclusion is stated in these words :

"In reading the works of all these writers, the impression

is the same. The more we admire their ability, learning, and pious enthusiasm, the more clearly do we see that they have undertaken an impossible task, and that their failures are in no way due to any deficiencies on their part, but only to the insoluble character of the problem they have set themselves to elucidate" (p. 55). And he considers (pp. 57-62) the true solution of the problems presented by the cosmogony of Genesis to have been found by those scholars who read it in the light of the age in which it was written, and who, while not forgetful of the spiritual teaching of which it is made the vehicle, interpret it, on its material side, in accordance with the place which it holds in the history of Semitic cosmological speculation.<sup>1</sup>

The administration of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* is to be congratulated on the progress which it has made since 1888.

S. R. DRIVER.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Sayce expresses the opinion held generally both by Assyriologists and by modern Biblical scholars, when he writes (*Monuments*, p. 77 f.): "The Biblical writer [of the first chapter of Genesis], it is plain, is acquainted, either directly or indirectly, with the Assyrian and Babylonian tradition. With him it is stripped of all that was distinctively Babylonian and polytheistic, and is become in his hands a sober narrative, breathing a spirit of the purest and most exalted monotheism. In passing from the Assyrian poem to the Biblical narrative we seem to pass from romance to reality. But this ought not to blind us to the fact that the narrative is ultimately of Babylonian origin" (to the same effect, *Expositor*, Jan. 1886, pp. 38-44).

NOTES ON THE REVISED VERSION OF THE  
NEW TESTAMENT.<sup>1</sup>

1 *Cor.* xiii. 11.—Is the rendering “I spake” right? I think not. Is the rendering “as a child” right? I think not. On what grounds? On grounds both grammatical and logical. First, the logical. St. Paul in this text is thinking of glossolalia, *i.e.* tongue-talking or utterance in unknown tongues. What were these unknown tongues? Were they foreign languages—Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Persian, Arabic? Not at all, nothing of the kind. Tongues they were not of this world; tongues supernatural, heaven-born, spirit-given, Paradisiacal, articulated they are in the Paradise of God. St. Paul heard them in his rapture to the confines of the third heaven, but he could not reproduce them on earth. He calls them “utterances unutterable.” They are called in Scripture “new tongues” because they are utterances of the new man latent in the old Adam, broken rudimentary utterances. How were they communicated? Thus: the human spirit of the ecstatic was filled with divine spirit, as daylight is filled with sunshine. What ensued to the ecstatic? Rapturous adoration, blissful experience, jubilancy—an inexpressible yearning to praise God. Why does not the ecstatic speak what he feels? He cannot; he is not in a position to articulate speech like a full-grown man; he can only utter broken voices, like a prattling infant. Why so? Because he is only in the infancy of the new man. This heaven-born tongue of Paradise, this spiritual language of the saints in the world to come, requires for its organ of articulation the spiritual body of the Resurrection. Now it is precisely this preparatory prattling, this rudimentary babbling, this

<sup>1</sup> From a lecture delivered in Leeds by the late Canon Evans of Durham.

alphabetical chattering, this broken utterance of the unknown tongues, that St. Paul illustrates in this text, which I venture to render, "When I was a babe, as a babe I talked, I prattled; I spake not as a man, but merely talked or lisped as an infant rattles."

*Luke x. 18.*—Is "fallen" right grammatically? I think not. Is "fallen" right logically? How can it be? Consider. There is a simile here: a comparison between Satan and lightning. In a comparison there is always a congruity between the thing compared and that to which it is compared. What we may predicate of the one we may predicate of the other. If it is correct to say "I saw *Satan fall* like lightning," it must also be correct to say "I saw *lightning fall*." By parity of reasoning, if it is correct to say "I beheld *Satan fallen* as lightning," it must also be correct to say "I saw *lightning fallen*." But it is not correct to say so; for we cannot see lightning *fallen*. We can see it *fall*, shoot, dart from point to point, from sky to earth; but *fallen* we cannot see it: when it has fallen, we see its effects in a blasted oak or a calcined cottage.

But I have been told that in some editions of the R.V., instead of *fallen* the new rendering is *falling*: "I beheld Satan *falling* as lightning." Really, if this be true, of the two errors which is the more eligible? of the two evils which the lesser? *Fallen* here, *falling* there: in this text the R.V., in assailing the A.V., is like a man who, in mounting a horse, first, faintly springing, fails to reach the saddle and comes to the ground *on this side*; then, renewing the attempt, bounding aloft, he overleaps the seat, and comes to the ground *on the other side*. He gets a fall in either case, yet a fall not in the same place. The fact is, the rendering of the A.V. is not only correct, but perfect: "I beheld Satan as lightning *fall* from heaven." The order of the English words corresponds to the order of the Greek: not *fall as lightning*, but, more vivid, *as lightning fall*. The

Greek for *falling* would be *πίπτοντα*; for *fallen*, *πεπτωκότα*; for *fall*, as in the Greek text, *πεσόντα*.

*Matt. xii. 42.*—When I read this new version in the margin, I exclaimed, “Really! ‘Behold, more than Solomon is here.’” Straightway came a voice from the Revised Version: “The Greek is *πλεῖον*, ‘more,’ not *μείζον*, ‘greater.’” “Oh, yes,” I reply, “I know that, O Revised Version: I know that *πλεῖον* means ‘more,’ and that *μείζον* means ‘greater.’” “Then why don’t you approve? Is it not correct?” “Oh, yes, it is correct.” “Then what does it lack?” “It lacks something. Let me tell you a tale, O Revised Version, a tale of the last century. Sir Joshua Reynolds was brought to see a great picture. The critic stood before the painting and said nothing. ‘Well, Sir Joshua, a grand picture?’ ‘Why, yes.’ ‘Very correct in its painting, Sir Joshua?’ ‘Oh, yes, very correct.’ ‘Is it not perfect? What does it lack?’ ‘It lacks this’—snapping his fingers. That snap of the finger indicated that the picture lacked that something without which anything, however correct, is nothing. That indefinite *something* would in Christianity be called charity, in a picture a touch of nature. In this new rendering it is the indefinite article ‘a.’”

T. S. EVANS.

## INDEX.

	PAGE
<b>Rev. Prof. B. W. Bacon, D.D., Yale University.</b>	
A Criticism of the New Chronology of Paul . . . . .	123
<b>Rev. W. E. Barnes, D.D., Cambridge.</b>	
A Fresh Interpretation of Psalm cxxvii. . . . .	303
<b>Rev. Prof. J. A. Beet, D.D.</b>	
Difficult Passages in Romans :—	
1. The Son of David and of God . . . . .	20
2. St. Paul's Theory of Ethics . . . . .	136
3. Justification through Faith . . . . .	275
4. The Death of Christ . . . . .	365
<b>Rev. Prof. W. H. Bennett, M.A.</b>	
Some Recent Biblical Literature . . . . .	74
<b>Rev. Prof. J. H. Bernard, D.D., Dublin.</b>	
The Omissions of the Gospel . . . . .	356
<b>Rev. Prof. A. B. Bruce, D.D.</b>	
The Baptism of Jesus . . . . .	187
The Light of Galilee . . . . .	423
<b>Rev. Arthur Carr, M.A.</b>	
Did John Preach Baptism for the Remission of Sins ? . . . .	397
The Name Χριστιανός . . . . .	456
<b>Right Rev. G. A. Chadwick, D.D., Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe.</b>	
The Soul's Emancipation . . . . .	69
The Incarnation and Judgment . . . . .	108
The Incarnation and Dogma . . . . .	210
The Incarnation and Culture . . . . .	288
<b>Rev. Prof. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., Oxford.</b>	
The New Versions of the Psalter and the Book of Judges. . .	259
Note on King Jareb . . . . .	320

	PAGE
<b>Late Rev. R. W. Dale, D.D., LL.D.</b>	
The Fatherhood of God . . . . .	56, 150
Judgment to Come . . . . .	161
<b>Sir J. W. Dawson, C.M.G., LL.D., F.R.S.</b>	
Creative Development and Evolution. . . . .	43
Spencer and Argyll on "Organic Evolution" . . . . .	179
Creative Development and Spontaneous Evolution . . . . .	308
<b>Ven. Archdeacon Diggle, M.A., Carlisle.</b>	
The Faith of Science . . . . .	439
<b>Rev. Prof. Marcus Dods, D.D.</b>	
Survey of Literature on the New Testament . . . . .	227
<b>Rev. Prof. S. R. Driver, D.D., Oxford.</b>	
Magna est Veritas et Prævalet . . . . .	464
<b>Late Rev. Canon T. S. Evans, M.A., Durham.</b>	
Notes on the Revised Version of the New Testament . . . . .	470
<b>G. Buchanan Gray, M.A.</b>	
Professor Sayce's "Early History of the Hebrews" . . . . .	337
<b>Rev. M. Kaufmann, M.A.</b>	
Was Job an Agnostic? . . . . .	377
<b>Rev. Prof. E. König, D.D., Rostock.</b>	
Notes on the Book of Genesis in Hebrew . . . . .	201
<b>Agnes S. Lewis, Cambridge.</b>	
Did John Preach Baptism for the Remission of Sins? . . . . .	223
<b>Prof. W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D.</b>	
The Authorship of the Acts . . . . .	1
The Epistle to the Galatians . . . . .	401
<b>Rev. F. Rendall, M.A.</b>	
Fusion of Jews and Gentiles in one Body in Christ . . . . .	321
<b>Rev. Prof. James Robertson, D.D., Glasgow.</b>	
The Hebrew "Cotter's Saturday Night" . . . . .	414
<b>Rev. Prof. J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Cambridge.</b>	
The Church as the Fulfilment of the Christ: a Note on Ephesians i. 23 . . . . .	241